The Fifth Crusade in Context

E. J. Mylod,

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The Fifth Crusade in Context

The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century

Crusades – Subsidia 9

Edited by
E.J. Mylod, Guy Perry, Thomas W. Smith,
and Jan Vandeburie

Routledge

The Fifth Crusade in Context

The Fifth Crusade represented a cardinal event in early thirteenth-century history, occurring during what was probably the most intensive period of crusading in both Europe and the Holy Land. Following the controversial outcome of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Pope Innocent III's reform agenda was set to give momentum to a new crusading effort. Despite the untimely death of Innocent III in 1216, the elaborate organization and firm crusading framework made it possible for Pope Honorius III to launch and oversee the expedition. The Fifth Crusade marked the last time that a medieval pope would succeed in mounting a full-scale, genuinely international crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, yet, despite its significance, it has largely been neglected in the historiography. The crusade was much more than just a military campaign, and the present book locates it in the contemporary context for the first time. *The Fifth Crusade in Context* is of crucial importance not only to better understand the organization and execution of the expedition itself, but also to appreciate its place in the longer history of crusading, as well as the significance of its impact on the medieval world.

This volume brings together an international group of scholars working on the Fifth Crusade and the crusading movement in the early thirteenth century, exemplifying the new approaches being pursued in the study of the crusades and religious medieval history more broadly. The contributions address the historiographical debate, the roles of the papacy and the German empire, the preaching and recruiting of the crusade, the situation in Egypt and the Holy Land, the textual traditions and, finally, the political importance of the crusade in Europe.

E. J. Mylod earned her PhD from the Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds in 2014 and is currently a researcher at the Dick Institute, Kilmarnock.

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Crusades – Subsidia

Series Editor: Christoph T. Maier, University of Zurich, for the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East

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The Fifth Crusade in Context
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In memory of James M. Powell

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Foreword

Although the importance of the Fifth Crusade has never been disputed and although there is no shortage of source material, most of which has been published, in practice this crusade has been neglected by modern historians. Since the late nineteenth century, there has only been one monograph published on the crusade as a whole, James Powell's *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986). This is an excellent work, but it does not claim to be a comprehensive survey of the crusade. It was their awareness of this problem which led a group of young scholars to initiate this project in 2012. The conference on this subject held at the University of Kent on 13–14 April of that year was entirely the work of three postgraduate students, Jan Vandeburie, Thomas Smith and Elizabeth Mylod, and one recently qualified postdoctoral student, Guy Perry. They were responsible for calling for papers, inviting guest speakers, drawing up the programme, making the logistical arrangements and negotiating the financial and academic sponsorship for the conference. Subsequently these four have selected some of the conference papers and commissioned new contributions to form the present volume. In my capacity as President of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, I welcome this impressive initiative by these young scholars.

This is an important collection of chapters. They do not complement a pre-existing body of published work, but in most cases identify and elucidate aspects of the Fifth Crusade on which little or no work has previously been done. Indeed, when the conference met in 2012, there were no satisfactory modern studies of two key figures, John of Brienne as ruler of Jerusalem and Frederick II in his relations with the kingdom of Jerusalem. These matters were being addressed by two of the speakers: Guy Perry was preparing a biography of John, which was published in 2013, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), and he gave a paper which arose from his research in this field; while

Professor Marcello Pacifico generously read a paper based on his book *Federico II a Gerusalemme al tempo delle crociate* (Rome, 2012), which was published later that year.

There was no similar lack of work on the role of Pope Honorius III in the Fifth Crusade, but two of the contributors present his influence in a new light. Pierre-Vincent Claverie discusses the apocalyptic view which the pope held about Jerusalem, which he saw as the site of Christ's Second Coming, which would usher in the end of the world. This is an important insight since, as I have argued in my own paper, the apocalyptic atmosphere in which the crusade was fought played a significant role in its failure. Thomas Smith convincingly challenges the widely held view that Honorius III sought, through his legate Pelagius, to direct the course of the crusade and argues that while Honorius was indisputably responsible for its organization and financial administration in Western Europe, he seldom intervened in its conduct in Egypt, where his role was primarily responsive; that is, he would reply to requests for advice which were made to him, but did not take the initiative.

Barbara Bombi has contributed a brilliant study on the conversion of Muslims during the Crusade, in which she points out that attention has hitherto been almost exclusively focused on the meeting between St Francis of Assisi and the Sultan al-Kamil, while the attitudes of the senior clergy present on the crusade, such as Oliver of Paderborn, have been ignored. Yet Oliver was also concerned with this issue: he records that he baptised orphaned Muslim children and arranged for them to be raised as Christians, and Barbara argues that Francis's intervention should be reconsidered in this context.

Hitherto, the position of Egyptian Christians during the crusade has only received very cursory treatment, and for that reason the article by K. S. Parker is particularly welcome. He considers the status of the various Christian confessions in Ayyūbid Egypt and explains that although they suffered from some forms of mob violence during the Fifth Crusade because they were associated in the popular Islamic view with the Christian invaders, this proved to be a temporary problem. After the crusade had ended, the Coptic Church in particular regained its prosperity and enjoyed the goodwill of the Sultans.

Elizabeth Mylod points out that Egypt was also a Holy Land, where Joseph and Mary and the infant Christ had taken refuge from the persecution of King Herod, and that it contained a number of ancient and important Christian shrines, and examines the long-term consequences of this awareness for Western pilgrimage.

Nicholas Coureas considers what is potentially a new source for the Fifth Crusade, the Cypriot Chronicle of Amadi, which dates from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but which is based on earlier materials, many of which are no longer extant. The sources for the Fifth Crusade used in this text are unique in that they contain no condemnation of Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate on the crusade, and are thus evidence that an alternative tradition about his role had once existed.

An interesting re-evaluation of the work of Huon of Saint-Quentin is made by Matthieu Rajohnson in collaboration with Esther Dehoux and Amandine Le Roux. Huon not merely censured Pelagius for the failure of the crusade, but argued more radically that the Church should have no part in crusading, which should be an entirely lay activity, and Matthieu and his colleagues argue convincingly that Huon's work remained popular with the French nobility throughout the thirteenth century because it removed the stigma of failure from the crusading activities of their ancestors and placed the blame entirely on the Church.

The volume ends with three chapters about the impact of the Fifth Crusade on Western Europe: the activity of the Teutonic Order in the West during the Crusade; the support given to the crusade of Andrew II of Hungary by the Croatian nobility; and Pål Berg Svenungsen's chapter on the Norwegian contribution to the Fifth Crusade, which breaks entirely new ground. These are of interest in their own right, but also point the way to the possibility of further regional studies being undertaken about the impact of the Fifth Crusade on Western Europe.

This collection of essays is essential reading for anybody interested in the Fifth Crusade and, indeed, in thirteenth-century crusading history, because, as it sets out to do, it broadens the context of that Crusade and opens up so many new areas of research, and its editors deserve credit for producing this volume of consistently high academic calibre.

Bernard Hamilton

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James M. Powell passed away on 27 January 2011. His outstanding scholarship greatly advanced our understanding of the Fifth Crusade. We dedicate this volume to his memory.

Abbreviations

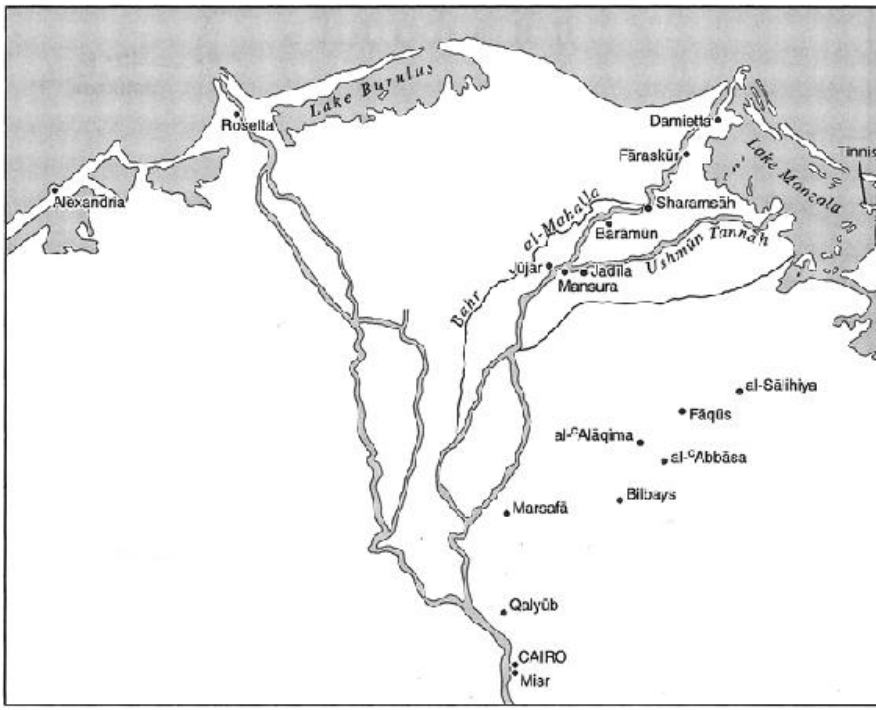
AASS	*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* (1643–1940), 68 vols
Alberigo	*Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo et al. (Bologna, 1973)
Anatomy	James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986)
AOL	*Archives de 1'Orient Latin* (1881–1884), 2 vols
ASV	Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano
Auvray	*Les registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. Lucien Auvray (Paris, 1896–1907), 3 vols
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Böhmer	*Acta Imperii selecta*, ed. Johann F. Böhmer (Innsbruck, 1870)
Bongars	*Gesta dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars (Hanover, 1611)
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* (Turnhout, 1966–)
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1954–)
CDRCDS	*Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, ed. Tade Smičiklas, Marko Kostrenčić et al. (Zagreb, 1904–90), 18 vols
CIC	*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879–81), 2

	vols
Cont WT	*La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. M. R. Morgan (Paris, 1982)
Crusade and Christendom	*Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, 2013)
CSM	James M. Powell, *The Crusades, the Kingdom of Sicily and the Mediterranean*, Variorum (Aldershot, 2007)
DN	*Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Christiania-Oslo, 1847–)
Eracles	*L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, in *RHC Occ.*, 1.2 (Paris, 1859)
Ernoul	*Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas-Latrie (Paris, 1871)
Gesta	*The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, ed. James M. Powell (Washington DC, 2004)
Hennes	*Codex diplomaticus ordinis sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum*, ed. J. H. Hennes (Mainz, 1845–61), 2 vols
H.Occ.	J.F. Hinnebusch (ed.), *The 'Historia Occidentalis' of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition* (Fribourg, 1972)
H.Or.	Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale/ Historia orientalis*, ed. and trans. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008)
H-B	*Historia Diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1852–61), 6 vols
HC	*A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton et al., 2nd edn (Madison, 1969–89), 6 vols
Hoogeweg	*Die Schriften des Kölner*

	Domscholasters späteren Bishofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bishofs von S. Sabina, ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894)
Horoy	Honorius III, *Opera omnia*, ed. C. A. Horoy (Paris, 1879–82), 5 vols
Lettres	*Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240)*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), reprinted in: *Serta mediaevalia. Textus varii saeculorum X–XIII. Tractatus et epistolae*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CChr.CM 171 (Turnhout, 2000)
Lettres (trans.)	*Lettres de la cinquième croisade*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, trans. G. Duchet-Suchaux (Turnhout, 1998)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
SrG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (1871–)
SS	*Scriptores in folio* (1826–)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1841–55), 221 vols
Potthast	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast (Berlin, 1874–75), 2 vols
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
Pressutti	*Regesta Honorii Papae III (1216–1227)*, ed. P. Pressutti (Rome, 1888–95), 2 vols
QB	*Quinti Belli Sacri Scriptores Minores*, ed. R. Röhricht (Geneva, 1879)
Register	*Die Register Innocenz' III*. ed. O. Hageneder et al. (Vienna, 1964–), 11 vols
Reg. Vat.	Registra Vaticana
RHC	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (Paris, 1841–1906),
Occ.	*Historiens occidentaux*
Or.	*Historiens orientaux*
RHGF	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738–1904), 24

	vols
RIS	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, 1723–)
RN	*Regesta Norvegica* (Christiania-Oslo, 1898–)
Rodenberg	*Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum romanorum selectae*, ed. K. Rodenberg (Berlin, 1883–1894), 3 vols
ROL	*Revue de 1'Orient Latin* (1893–1911), 12 vols
RRH	*Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* and *Additamentum*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
TM	*Testimonia Minora de Quinto Bello Sacro*, ed. R. Röhricht (Geneva, 1882)
WoT	Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63 and 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

Maps



Map 1 The Nile Delta

Map 2 Syria and Palestine

Introduction

In April 1218, five years after Pope Innocent III called for a new crusade in his letter *Quia maior*, crusaders from the Rhineland and Frisia joined the forces of Andrew II of Hungary and Leopold VI of Austria, who had arrived at Acre in the Holy Land before the winter. Led by the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, the assembled forces landed at the Egyptian port of Damietta in May 1218. Despite the postponed arrival of Emperor-elect Frederick II and being surrounded by Sultan al-Kāmil's forces, the crusader army eventually succeeded in capturing Damietta in November 1219. Low on men and resources, but hopeful for Frederick II's arrival, the army marched on Cairo in July 1221. With the army forced to retreat and cut off by the flooded Nile, the Fifth Crusade came to an end with the surrender of Damietta on 29 August 1221 in return for a truce and a safe withdrawal.

The Fifth Crusade and its context together represent a cardinal event in early thirteenth-century history, occurring during what was probably the most intensive period of crusading in both Europe and the Holy Land. The crusade itself marked the last time that a medieval pope would succeed in mounting a full-scale, genuinely international crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. Despite this, though, the Fifth Crusade and its context have not received much attention in modern scholarship. The crusade itself was last examined in detail in 1986, in James M. Powell's monograph *Anatomy of a Crusade*, which hitherto has been widely considered to be the seminal work on the Fifth Crusade. In an effort to revive academic interest in the Fifth Crusade and in preparation for the octocentennial commemorations of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the departure of the Fifth Crusade (1217), the editors of this volume organized the international conference 'Contextualising the Fifth Crusade' at Canterbury on 13–14 April 2012. A selection of essays originating from papers presented at this conference, as well as contributions from scholars who were not present at the conference, have been brought together in this volume.

The first part of the volume focuses on the papal and imperial

influence on the crusade. Thomas W. Smith conclusively demonstrates that the pope's role in the Fifth Crusade was far more that of a co-ordinator and a supporter than that of a leader. Yet he also draws our attention towards specific moments when Honorius actively sought to influence the campaign's direction. Pierre-Vincent Claverie undertakes a close analysis of Honorius III's papal letters in order to assess how the pope conceptualized the crusade. Tracing Honorius's biblical and patristic references through his letters, Claverie explores how the pope conceived of the position of the clergy as mediators between God and man, how important holy shrines were in his thought, and how the Fifth Crusade was characterized by penitence and miracles. Guy Perry has unearthed a previously unknown letter which sheds new light on the leadership situation of the Fifth Crusade. Perry publishes and translates the letter here, which John of Brienne sent to Frederick II after the capture of Damietta. Perry reveals that the letter is one of a pair that John and his allies addressed to the pope and Frederick on 12 November 1219. He argues that John's intention in issuing the 'new' letter was to establish his own independent correspondence with Frederick in an attempt to refashion his relationship with both of the major 'offstage' powers of the crusade.

The second part of the volume focuses on the preaching and propaganda for the Fifth Crusade. Bernard Hamilton explores the eschatological context in which the Fifth Crusade took place by investigating the prophecies predicting the arrival of the mythical Prester John and his armies from the East. Hamilton discusses the different accounts and letters mentioning Prester John and considers their origin. Although there never was a Prester John, Hamilton finds and evaluates the traces of truth in these documents. In her contribution, Barbara Bombi relies on the account of Jacques of Vitry as the most important and earliest non-Franciscan source accounting for St Francis of Assisi's mission in the East. The chapter compares the attitudes towards non-Christians of Oliver of Cologne and Francis of Assisi, who embodied the two different traditions of Church reform and mission in the early thirteenth century: Oliver's learned approach versus Francis's preaching by example. Bombi argues for a shift in the debate on Oliver's and Francis's attitudes towards non-Christians away from the crusade and to focus on their respective background and their overall activity in the East. The chapter by Jessalynn Bird sheds light on the preaching for the Fifth Crusade and examines the contents of an extant contemporary preaching handbook found in Paris, BnF MS nouv. acq. lat. 999. Bird argues that this manuscript shows how

the Paris masters in the circle of Innocent III not only applied new preaching tools to the composition of crusade sermons but also used these texts to craft their self-image as preachers.

The chapters in the third part of the volume focus on Egypt, not only as the goal of the campaign, but also as the home of the Coptic Christians and as a place of pilgrimage. Alan V. Murray presents a broad survey of Egypt and its role in the crusades prior to 1213. He outlines the development of an Egypt-focused crusading strategy from the mid-twelfth century and discusses early attempts by the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to annex parts of the country. He considers how the change from land-based to naval crusades coincided with the focus on Egypt as part of a crusading strategy and examines the logistics leading to the Fifth Crusade's arrival in Egypt. K. S. Parker discusses the indigenous Christians in Egypt and the East Mediterranean at the time of the Fifth Crusade. He provides a wide-ranging introduction to the different groups, placing them within the contemporary context and assessing the impact of the Fifth Crusade. He focuses particularly on the Copts and Melkites, as the largest Christian groups within Egypt when the army of the Fifth Crusade arrived on Egyptian soil, and discusses how Muslim attitudes towards them changed as a result of the crusade. E. J. Mylod's contribution focuses on the mutual influence of crusading and pilgrimage at the time of the Fifth Crusade and the attempts at making the military journey also a sacred one. Mylod shows that the Fifth Crusade drew scholarly attention to the pilgrimage sites of Northern Egypt and notes an increase in descriptions and references to the sacred sites of the area. This chapter highlights the importance of the Fifth Crusade for our understanding of how pilgrimage changes in the thirteenth century.

In the fourth part of the volume, we turn to some of the texts that have not yet received much attention in relation to the Fifth Crusade. Peter Edbury shows that the overwhelming importance of Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina* means that a number of other narrative accounts have been cast into the shade – amongt them, for example, the various versions of events that can be found in *Ernoul* and *Eracles*. In this chapter, Edbury explores not only the very nature of these highly problematic texts, but also what they can contribute to the debates surrounding the Fifth Crusade. Much like Edbury's chapter, Nicholas Coureas's contribution examines the Fifth Crusade from an unusual perspective. The narrative account known as 'Amadi' is the only Cypriot chronicle that describes the expedition in some detail. In this chapter, Coureas explores how the memory of the Fifth Crusade

was kept alive in Cyprus in the later medieval period and into the sixteenth century. In the chapter by Esther Dehoux, Amandine Le Roux and Matthieu Rajohnson, the authors focus on the work of the important French *trouvère*, Huon of Saint-Quentin, and on how he responded to the changing crusading environment of the early thirteenth century. They are able to show that such changes led to a critical new stage in the development of 'criticism of crusading'.

The final part of the volume includes chapters that focus on the impact of the Fifth Crusade in Europe. Hrvoje Kekez discusses whether members of the noble Croatian Babonić family participated in the crusade of Andrew II. He reviews the historiography of the family and discusses why noble families of late medieval Slavonia (modern Croatia) wanted to connect with the crusading past. He sets the forged charter evidence within its historical context and considers the likelihood that it preserved an earlier historical tradition. In his chapter, Karol Polejowski examines the significance of donations made by French knights to the Teutonic Order during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade in Egypt. He argues that, through the acquisition of possessions in France, the Teutonic Order sought to create a bailiwick there and establish a permanent base alongside the Templar and Hospitaller orders. From the 1250s, however, the Teutonic Knights seem to have relinquished these plans, which Polejowski attributes to a combination of factors, including the lack of long-lasting and durable support from the knightly families of France, and the inability of the Teutonic Order to repeat its success on the Fifth Crusade. Pål Berg Svenungsen assesses the long-neglected participation of Norwegian warriors on the Fifth Crusade through a careful examination of the surviving sources and the contemporary political situation. He argues that despite the relatively modest contribution of Norway to the Fifth Crusade, the episode can tell us much about the expedition more broadly, such as the willingness of the papacy to foster the involvement of European monarchs in the campaign and the impact of the papal peace programme on the fringes of the West. This chapter provides a valuable case study of the difficult and complex political negotiations that paved the way for departure on crusade.

The editors hope that this volume will incite further research into the Fifth Crusade and its context, and that the scholarship gathered in this volume will provide the impetus, and help to point out new directions, for such investigations.

1 The historiography of the Fifth Crusade

Jan Vandeburie

In his prologue to the *Historia Orientalis*, crusade preacher and Bishop of Acre Jacques de Vitry referred to the weeping Israelites by the rivers of Babylon as an analogy for his boredom and frustration when the crusader army was held up after the capture of Damietta on the Fifth Crusade. Noting that 'idleness teaches evil', Jacques used the divine scriptures that he found in the city to keep his mind from vain and useless thoughts. As he desired to learn new things, he wrote how he found several books in the cabinets of the Latins, the Greeks and the Arabs containing the histories of the kings of the East. While seemingly admiring the efforts of the authors who preceded him, Jacques appeared critical of their 'pompous praising of men'. He regarded the writing of history, at least when it came to the deeds of men, as a humble and virtuous task, and therefore frowned upon too much praise or inflated language.[1] He noted that there was a lack of contemporary accounts on the recent crusading events. He blamed 'the negligent sloth of the men of his time' and lamented that 'in the days that we live only a few men can be found, and none among our men, to apply themselves to write the admirable actions, the battles, and the glorious triumphs of the Eternal King'.[2]

Fortunately, we are not faced with such a problem for the modern historiography concerning the Fifth Crusade. Although the scholarly attention for the crusades in the thirteenth century, often labelled 'later crusades', is dwarfed by the literature dealing with the crusades of the twelfth century, the scholarship on the Fifth Crusade has been rather substantial and touches on a diverse range of topics. While each contribution in this volume discusses the historiographical debate concerning the specific topic addressed in the particular chapter, this chapter aims to provide a general overview of the historiography and to highlight some dominant strands in the research concerning the Fifth Crusade.

The scholarship has benefited from the availability of a rich array of primary sources. Oliver of Paderborn's account of the siege and

capture of Damietta is one of the most detailed and, arguably, one of the most accurate testimonies of a crusade.[3] In addition to Oliver's writings, Jacques de Vitry's letters, containing detailed reports of the campaign, are an invaluable source of information,[4] and Jacques's encyclopaedic *Historia Orientalis* details the situation in the Latin East on the eve of the Fifth Crusade.[5] Aside from a number of brief accounts in larger Arabic and Eastern Christian chronicles,[6] the more elaborate testimony on the siege of Damietta by al-Makrīzī offers a fascinating Islamic perspective on the events of the Fifth Crusade.[7] An impressive collection of obscure accounts concerning the Fifth Crusade were compiled and edited by Reinhold Röhricht between 1879 and 1882.[8] These source collections are still highly valuable for scholars today and very few new testimonies have been uncovered since.[9] Among these minor accounts, the sources dealing with the Frisian participants on the crusade certainly stand out and are little known among scholars outside the Low Countries.[10]

Hermann Hoogeweg was the first to publish a comprehensive study dedicated to the Fifth Crusade in 1887 and 1888.[11] Shortly afterwards, in 1891, Reinhold Röhricht published his essay on the Fifth Crusade, offering some new insights by making use of the corpus of primary sources he had compiled. A more extensive essay, drawing on recent developments in the scholarship on the crusades in the early thirteenth century, was Thomas C. Van Cleve's contribution to Setton's *History of the Crusades* in 1969.[12] The most comprehensive study of the Fifth Crusade to date, and the only dedicated monograph, is undoubtedly James M. Powell's seminal book *Anatomy of a Crusade* published in 1986. Powell's analysis of the failure of the campaign moved away from the traditional blaming of either Pelagius, John of Brienne or the crusaders, and instead offered evidence for more structural problems that caused shortages of material and manpower. He argued that the decisions taken in Egypt were not to blame for the logistical delays and, ultimately, the failure of the crusade, but rather the lack of effective decision making in Europe. Moreover, rather than portraying the crusade as an entirely papal enterprise, he highlighted the crucial role of the secular leaders in the actual execution of the plans.[13] Since Powell's book, a number of smaller studies have dealt with individual aspects of the Fifth Crusade or specific episodes of the campaign,[14] most notably the military side of the siege of Damietta,[15] and the influence of the prophecy involving the mythical Prester John, who was expected to join the war against the Muslims with his armies from the East.[16]

The historiography of the Fifth Crusade has predominantly consisted of histories of significant individuals in the events. Joseph P. Donovan's study of the papal legate Pelagius's role in the Fifth Crusade, published in 1950, is the prime example of an investigation that sheds light on the Fifth Crusade by focusing on one of its leaders.[17] Donovan disagreed with previous scholars by arguing that Pelagius alone was not to blame for the failure of the crusade.[18] Highlighting the opinions of Pelagius's contemporaries, he noted the delayed participation of Frederick II, the early withdrawal of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and his forces, and the leisurely behaviour of the crusader forces at Damietta. The scholarship on the secular leadership of the crusade, personified in the figure of John of Brienne, has also been substantial. The views offered in a number of earlier studies have been reconsidered in Guy Perry's recent monograph.[19] Despite Frederick II's absence on the Fifth Crusade, the Holy Roman Emperor's anticipated arrival certainly influenced the crusade leaders' decisions and the course of events. Most of the biographical works on Frederick II and the scholarship on his crusade in 1227–29 also deal with the influence of the emperor on the Fifth Crusade, albeit often briefly.[20] Marcello Pacifico's recent monograph is the first to give Frederick II's role in the Fifth Crusade the attention it deserves.[21]

Although, surprisingly, the Fifth Crusade is hardly mentioned in Setton's *The Papacy and the Levant*,[22] the role played by the popes has been of particular interest in recent scholarship. Pope Innocent III's novel approach to crusading, the new legal framework he implemented and the unprecedented planning of the campaign at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 have proven fertile ground for historians.[23] With Innocent III's untimely death, Pope Honorius III was left with the execution of the crusade plans of his predecessor. Honorius's views on the crusade compared to those of Innocent III have been well explored in recent scholarship. Powell was the first to focus on Honorius's involvement in the Fifth Crusade and, recently, Thomas W. Smith has attributed an active role to Honorius in the decisions made on the crusade.[24]

Innocent III also spearheaded a new approach to the preaching and recruitment for the crusade, and a number of general studies as well as case studies have focused on the crusade preachers involved in the Fifth Crusade.[25] In particular, the increased use of papal legates for the recruitment and organization of the crusade has been an important topic of discussion.[26] Since Benjamin Kedar's seminal study on crusade and mission published in 1984,[27] the preaching among non-Christians

has also been increasingly investigated and especially the activities of Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn have received considerable scholarly interest.[28]

Perhaps the most explored topic in the historiography concerning the Fifth Crusade has been St Francis of Assisi's presence at Damietta and his daring yet futile attempt at converting Sultan al-Kāmil in the enemy's camp. The popularity of St Francis and the vast corpus of scholarship as well as the fascination for this direct religious confrontation has contributed to an impressive amount of writings dealing with this rather minor moment in the course of the campaign.[29]

In comparison with the historiography of other crusades, only a small number of studies on the Fifth Crusade have approached the topic from a regional or local perspective.[30] Within this strand, the Dutch historiography focusing on the role of the Frisians in the capture of Damietta, based on the rich Frisian source material mentioned above, has been rather substantial. A large part of this scholarship is encouraged by the anachronistic appropriation in the sixteenth century by the city of Haarlem, whose inhabitants identified themselves with the Frisian contingents at Damietta and constructed a civic identity based on events that supposedly involved crusaders from Haarlem.[31]

This brief historiographical outline has not considered other theatres of religious war, such as the siege of Alcácer do Sal in southern Portugal between August and October 1217 or the German crusades in Livonia. Joseph F. O'Callaghan's monograph offers an excellent outline of events in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the Fifth Crusade,[32] while José Manuel Rodríguez García's recent study of the crusade in thirteenth-century Castile makes use of the most recent scholarship concerning the *Reconquista*.[33] For the Baltic Crusades, Sven Ekdahl has provided a detailed overview of the historiography,[34] while Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt contributed a focused discussion of the historiography concerning the papacy and the Baltic Crusades in the second half of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries.[35]

Notes

1 Jacques de Vitry, *Prologus*, in Jean Donnadieu, 'L'*historia orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry: Tradition manuscrite et histoire du texte', *Sacris erudiri*, 45 (2006), pp. 379–456 (p. 453).

2 Ibid., pp. 453–54: 'Ex nostris autem diebus istis novissimis pauci vel nulli inventi sunt qui regis eterni prelia et triumphos gloriosos, et mirabilia gesta describere et

scripto mandare studuissent, ad laudem et gloriam illius qui solus laudabilis est et gloriosus in secula.'

3 Oliverus Scholasticus, *Die Schriften des kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894). For an English translation, see Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. John J. Gavignan (Philadelphia, 1948). See also Marie-Geneviève Grossel, 'L'Historia Damiatina. La Cinquième Croisade vue par Olivier le Scholastique', in *Croisades? Approches littéraires, historiques et philologiques*, ed. J. C. Herbin and M. G. Grossel (Valenciennes, 2009), pp. 19–50.

4 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240)*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), reprinted in *Serta mediaevalia. Textus varii saeculorum X-XIII. Tractatus et epistolae*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 171 (Turnhout, 2000). For an English translation of the letters written during the Fifth Crusade, see *Letters from the East. Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, ed. and trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, Crusade Texts in Translation 18 (Farnham, 2010).

5 Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale/Historia orientalis*, ed. and trans. Jean Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008).

6 See, mostly, Al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd, *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, trans. Anne-Marie Eddé and Françoise Micheau (Paris, 1994), pp. 30–35; and *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2005–08), vol. 3, pp. 174–82. For a Syrian perspective on the events, see Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. and trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge as *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj* (London, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 370–71.

7 al-Makrīzī, *Expeditionibus a Graecis Francisque adversus Dimyatham ab A.C. 708 ad 1221 susceptis*, ed. Henricus Hamaker (Amsterdam, 1823).

8 *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (Geneva, 1879); and *Testimonia minora de quinto bello sacro*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (Geneva, 1882). Röhricht also edited a selection of letters and archival documents relating to the Fifth Crusade in R. Röhricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1891). English translations of some of these accounts as well as additional documentary material have recently been published in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (Philadelphia, 2013).

9 Not included in Röhricht's collections are, for instance, the account discussed in Carlo Cipolla, 'Una narrazione bobbiese sulla presa di Damietta nel 1219', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 31 (1904), pp. 5–14 and the document discussed in Peter Linehan, 'Documento español sobre la quinta cruzada', *Hispania Sacra*, 20 (1967), pp. 177–82.

10 See also G. H. M. Delprat, 'Johannes Aegidius van Zierikzee: bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het innemen van Damiate in 1219', *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, 5 (1847), pp. 75–89; and Jaap J. van Moolenbroek, 'Het klaaglied over het debacle van de kruistocht in Egypte (1221) in de kroniek van Ryccardus van San Germano', *Millennium*, 14 (2000), pp. 42–56.

11 Hermann Hoogeweg, 'Der Kreuzzug von Damiette, 1218–1221', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 8 (1887), pp. 188–218; 9 (1888), pp. 249–88, 414–47.

12 Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in *A History of the Crusades. Vol. II: The Later Crusades 1189–1311*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, R. L. Wolff and Harry W. Hazard (Madison, WI, 1969), pp. 377–428.

13 James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986).

14For instance, Hans L. Gottschalk, 'Die Friedens angebote al-Kamils von Ägypten an die Kreuzfahrer', *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 51 (1948–50), pp. 64–82; Jean Richard, 'Pouvoir royal et patriarcat au temps de la Cinquième Croisade, à propos du rapport du patriarche Raoul', *Crusades*, 2 (2003), pp. 109–19; James M. Powell, 'The Role of Women in the Fifth Crusade', in *The Crusades, the Kingdom of Sicily, and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2007), IV, pp. 294–301; Megan Cassidy Welch, '"O Damietta": War, Memory, and Crusade in Thirteenth-Century Egypt', *Journal of Medieval History*, 40 (2014), pp. 346–60; and Thomas W. Smith, 'Pope Honorius III, the Military Orders and the Financing of the Fifth Crusade: A Culture of Papal Preference?', in *The Military Orders: Volume 6. Culture and Conflict*, ed. J. Schenk (Farnham, 2015).

15Dominic Francis, 'Oliver of Paderborn and his Siege Engine at Damietta', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993), pp. 28–32; Douglas Sterling, 'The Siege of Damietta: Seapower in the Fifth Crusade 1217–1221 A. D.', in *Crusaders, Condottieri and Cannon: Medieval Warfare in Societies around the Mediterranean*, ed. Donald J. Kagay (Leiden, 2003), pp. 101–31; and Giancarlo Andenna, 'Gli "angeli" a Damietta. Uomini e tecniche militari nella quinta crociata', in *I cristiani e il favoloso Egitto: una relazione dall'Oriente e La storia di Damietta di Oliviero da Colonia*, ed. Aldo Angelo Settia, Giancarlo Andenna and Barbara Bombi (Genoa, 2009), pp. 187–212.

16Carlo C. Rossini, 'Il libro dello pseudo-Clemente e la crociata di Damietta', *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 9 (1921–23), pp. 32–35; and Martin Gosman, 'La légende du Prêtre Jean et la propagande auprès des croisés devant Damiette (1218–1221)', in *La Croisade: Réalités et fictions*, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Göppingen, 1989), pp. 133–42.

17Joseph Patrick Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade (*Philadelphia, 1950).

18An earlier extensive study of Pelagius's leadership of the crusade was made by Otto Hassler, *Ein Heerführer der Kurie am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts: Pelagius Galvani, Kardinalbischof von Albano* (Basel, 1902). See also Christian Grasso, 'Cardinale Pelagio d'Albano legato papale e predicatore della quinta crociata', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 108 (2013), pp. 98–143.

19Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013). Earlier studies included Albert Gayet, *L'itinéraire des expeditions de Jean de Brienne et de Saint Louis en Égypte et les traces qu'elles y ont laissées* (Paris, 1900); and L. Boehm, *Johann von Brienne: König von Jerusalem, Kaiser von Konstantinopel, um 1170–1237* (Heidelberg, 1938).

20See especially Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Crusade of Frederick II', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison, 1969), vol. 2, pp. 429–62; David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988), pp. 128–29; Rudolf Hiestand, 'Friedrich II. und der Kreuzzug', in *Friedrich II.: Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, ed. Arnold Esch and Norbert Kamp (Tübingen, 1996), p. 135; Mohammed A. Aziz, 'La croisade de l'Empereur Frédéric II et l'Orient Latin', in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 373–78; Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II, 1194–1250* (Darmstadt, 1992–2000), vol. 2, p. 87; and Bodo Hechelhammer, *Kreuzzug und Herrschaft unter Friedrich II. Handlungsspielräume von Kreuzzugspolitik (1215–1230)* (Ostfildern, 2004).

21Marcello Pacifico, *Federico II e Gerusalemme al tempo delle crociate. Relazioni tra cristianità e islam nello spazio euro-mediterraneo medievale, 1215–1250* (Caltanissetta-Rome, 2012).

22*The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571). Vol. I: The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia, 1976).

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Part I

Papal and imperial influence

2The role of Pope Honorius III in the Fifth Crusade[1]

Thomas W. Smith

In the historiography on the Fifth Crusade, the idea that the expedition represented the epitome of a 'papal crusade' still looms large. Thomas Van Cleve wrote that in planning the Fifth Crusade, Pope Innocent III took 'every precaution to insure that the plans did not miscarry through falling into the hands of others than the chosen agents of the church … the Fifth Crusade was to be above all else a papal crusade'.[2] Helmut Roscher, writing contemporaneously with Van Cleve, argued the exact opposite. He forcefully made the case that Innocent did not attempt to keep the Fifth Crusade under exclusively papal direction, stating that 'the idea that Innocent wanted to exclude the kings from the crusade no longer holds up'.[3] Nonetheless, it has endured. Hans Mayer maintained that Innocent III deliberately sought to exclude the kings of Europe from the crusade and that he fought 'to make the crusade an ecclesiastical and specifically a papal enterprise'.[4] Mayer concluded his account of the Fifth Crusade by asserting that it was 'the Church's final attempt to turn the crusade into an enterprise directed and led by her alone'.[5] James Powell was influenced by the view of Roscher and cautiously sided with him over the topic of papal crusade leadership, making the astute point that, because of the sporadic departure of crusaders, 'the role left for the pope was that of a coordinator and at times a clearinghouse for information, rather than a director of operations'.[6] Elsewhere in Powell's work, there are nevertheless indicators that he considered Pope Honorius III to have had 'control over the conduct of the war', at least for a time.[7] Innocent III's supposed desire for total control over the Fifth Crusade stemmed from an apparently broader aim for papal control of the crusade movement, and Donald Queller and Thomas Madden have argued that Innocent also meant the Fourth Crusade 'to be wholly under papal control'.[8] Christopher Tyerman suggested that the notion of the pope as willing director of the Fifth Crusade is flawed, but did not drive the point home.[9] While Pierre-Vincent Claverie does not subscribe to the idea that the papacy purposely attempted to exclude the kings of

Europe from the leadership of the crusade, he writes that Honorius 'entrusted the direction of the crusade' to the legate Pelagius, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano, 'who had already defended the interests of the Holy See in the East'.[10]

The problem is that insufficient distinction has been made between the decisions of Innocent III, who planned the crusade, and Honorius III, who presided over its execution. Honorius's role during the Fifth Crusade still requires unravelling. His undeniably important efforts in supporting the crusade by taxing the clergy, recruiting reinforcements and communicating with the crusade's legate have been confused with the direction of the military campaign itself. In this chapter I shall analyse the *dispositio* clauses of Honorius's letters to the crusade army (these sections contained the pope's decisions and orders) to determine whether Honorius sought to direct the crusade from the curia.[11] This is something which has not previously been done.

Honorius left the responsibility for leading and directing the Fifth Crusade up to the leadership council drawn from the crusade army – a loose amalgamation of the most powerful crusaders with the army at any point, among whom at different times were King John of Jerusalem, King Andrew II of Hungary, Duke Leopold VI of Austria, Duke Louis of Bavaria and also the papal legate *a latere*, Pelagius.[12] The Fifth Crusade had no single undisputed leader and was characterized by relatively short periods of service. Most crusaders only campaigned for about a year, rather than committing themselves to fight until the end, as had been the case on previous crusades.[13] Pelagius was undoubtedly influential in the direction of the Fifth Crusade, but a distinction must be made between the roles of the legate and the pope. The focus of this chapter is to assess the level of control that the pope exerted over the crusade from the curia, rather than the actions of the legate on the ground.

Honorius's registers (Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana 9–13) prove that the pope was in close contact with the crusade. Between 1217 and 1221, he is recorded to have sent 15 letters regarding the expedition to the army and its leaders.[14] It appears that we possess the majority of the pope's correspondence with the crusaders in the registers, despite the selective registration of letters that was practised at Honorius's curia.[15] The papacy often chose to register letters that were in the curia's interest, such as those that concerned crusades and other political affairs, but this was by no means a mandatory procedure.[16]

Many of Honorius's crusade letters can be matched with

corresponding missives from recipients – especially Emperor Frederick II – through which references to the existence of a few lost papal crusade letters can be discovered and the tenor of their contents approximated.[17] References to now-lost documents in the *narratio* clause of papal letters (which outlined the events leading up to their issue) are another means by which lost correspondence can be identified.[18] Despite the prospect that we may be missing other papal letters to the crusade army of which no such traces remain, the number, content and topical range of those recorded in Honorius's registers represent more than enough evidence from which to draw firm conclusions on the nature of the pope's control over the Fifth Crusade.

The first letters despatched by Honorius regarding the course of the crusade were issued as a pair on 24 July 1217. They are both concerned with the proposed meeting of the main crusade contingents from Europe on Cyprus, planned for 8 September 1217. Honorius despatched one to a number of Italian clergy informing them that Andrew II, Leopold VI and all the other crusaders were going to meet on Cyprus – presumably to decide on strategy – and ordered the clergy to preach the crusade.[19] A slight variation of this letter was addressed to King John of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Templars and the Hospitallers in the kingdom of Jerusalem.[20] This letter informed the recipients of the planned meeting and invited them to attend or send messages to Cyprus so that the crusaders might have their counsel.

Although the meeting on Cyprus does not seem to have actually occurred (probably on account of coordination problems), it seems likely that it was conceived to allow the Western crusaders to muster and strategize before arriving in John's territory, presumably in an effort to prevent the king from assuming overall leadership of the crusade. Honorius's attempt to exclude John from a potentially decisive strategy meeting may represent a papal effort to manipulate the leadership and course of the crusade, but in an indirect manner.[21] However, these letters were a papal sleight of hand rather than an emphatic expression of authority and probably derived more from the wishes of Andrew II himself than from the pope. Indeed, since Andrew had already written to John regarding the Cyprus muster (which Honorius referred to in his own letter to John), the pope was following the king of Hungary's lead.[22] Andrew and Honorius had exchanged a number of letters in 1217 in the run-up to the king's crusade and it is possible that Andrew may have expressed a desire to

exclude John during this dialogue.[23]

After the initial skirmishing of the Fifth Crusade in the Holy Land during the autumn of 1217, the master of the Knights Templar in the Holy Land, William of Chartres, composed and sent the first despatch from the crusade to Honorius, which was received at the curia probably towards the end of November.[24] The report recounted the early activities of the crusaders, the state of their provisions and their plan to besiege the Egyptian city of Damietta. There is no recorded response to William, but on 24 November Honorius did send letters to the archbishops of Oristano (Sardinia) and Reims, which included a copy of William's report and celebrated the successful launch of the crusade, demonstrating one of the curia's key functions of transferring information between the Near East and the West and vice versa.[25] It is unlikely that Honorius would have sent this letter to Oristano and Reims alone. Rather, it is extremely plausible to suggest that the letter was sent to most, if not all, of the prelates of the West and that the copies to Oristano and Reims were the only ones to survive.

In August 1218 the curia received its second despatch from the crusade, now laying siege to Damietta. On 15 June the crusaders had written to the pope informing him of events and requesting reinforcements from Europe.[26] The receipt of this despatch at the curia led to a two-stage response. Honorius's first action was to reply to the crusaders directly on 13 August, notifying them that the curia was continuing to raise support in Europe and was sending crusaders on to Damietta via the Italian port cities.[27] Honorius's role as a sponsor of the crusade is further emphasized in the letter's *dispositio*, which only carried the order to stand firm and unified in vigorously carrying out the siege, while reassuring them that the curia was working tirelessly to support them.[28]

The second part of the pope's response to the crusader despatch was to issue another letter at around the same time to the French contingent assembling at Genoa, which included Count Hervé of Nevers, Count Hugh of La Marche and now also Robert of Courçon.[29] This letter actually contains very few of the pope's own words and is really only a brief papal exhortation flanking a copy of the crusaders' report of 15 June at both ends. The *dispositio* ordered those massing at Genoa to hurry to Egypt because, as the crusaders stated, Damietta and the whole of Egypt might be delivered over to the Christians.[30] The copying of the crusader despatch into the pope's own letter to the French contingent is evidence of papal coordination rather than direction; Honorius supported the crusaders by rallying the knightly

classes of Europe, but did not reply with his own orders for how the crusade should continue.

Another crusader report – no longer extant – appears to have arrived at the curia around November 1218. A papal letter issued in response, probably on 27 November, addressed to the archbishop of Sens, the crusaders in his diocese, and the archbishops of England and France, refers to such a report being received and specifically names the legate Pelagius as being one of the authors, thus making it distinct from the 15 June report.[31]

It therefore seems almost certain that on his arrival in Egypt in the autumn passage of 1218, Pelagius, with the crusade leadership, took the opportunity to write a despatch on their dire financial situation at the time and then sent it back to the curia on one of the crusader ships turning around and heading for home. The papal letter of 27 November recounts that the crusaders had urgently petitioned for men and money to pay for siege machines and galleys, and notified the recipients that the curia was hurrying to send aid to the East. In the *dispositio* Honorius ordered that crusaders from the territories of the recipients should depart in the March or May passages at the latest.[32]

After organizing the requested transfer of funds to Egypt, Honorius wrote to Pelagius and the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars on 23 January 1219 informing them to expect receipt of 5,000 marks, of which the master of each Order was to receive exactly half.[33] In the *dispositio* Honorius gave no specific instructions for the distribution of funds, instead leaving it up to the recipients.[34]

The crusader report also appears to have prompted the curia to move to engage the Emperor-elect Frederick as one of the reinforcements requested from Egypt and highlights the pope's role as the chief supporter, sponsor and advocate of the crusade. Although we possess no record of the text of Honorius's attempt to engage Frederick in the Fifth Crusade, it is clear that a papal letter was issued. Frederick sent a letter to Honorius on 12 January 1219 which reveals that the emperor-elect was replying to a recent (now lost) papal letter he had received that set out the state of the Holy Land.[35] It is plausible to suggest that this lost letter must have been sent at around the same time as the 27 November letter to the archbishops of England and France on the same theme. Honorius may have urged Frederick to leave by the feast of John the Baptist (24 June 1219) in the lost papal letter, because in his reply Frederick bound himself to this deadline.

Despite Frederick's promise to crusade imminently, he repeatedly delayed his departure and regularly missed deadlines throughout the

Fifth Crusade because of his domestic affairs.[36] After failing to meet his 24 June 1219 deadline, a second deadline of 29 September 1219 was set.[37] In early September, with this new deadline rapidly approaching and Frederick being no closer to departing, Honorius replied to a letter of Pelagius.[38] The papal letter was mostly concerned with the matter of sending funds from the collection of the twentieth tax to the crusade army, but at the end Honorius included a note stating that Frederick was angling for the imperial crown before setting out. The purpose of the letter was again to relay information to the crusade army and the *dispositio* merely ordered that Pelagius should try to hold the army together ('as another Joshua') until Frederick's arrival.[39]

When Damietta finally fell to the crusaders on 5 November 1219, the crusade leadership wrote to the pope on 11 November to update him and to beg for reinforcements and funds.[40] The crusaders asked the pope to compel Frederick and other crusaders to come. The next day, a group of nobles including Simon de Joinville wrote a separate letter to Honorius in support of King John's claim to Damietta and asked that the city be made over to the kingdom of Jerusalem, using the justification that it would make peace among the crusaders.[41]

These despatches from the crusaders did not reach the curia until February 1220. On 24 February Honorius issued a response to the letter of 11 November (there is no registered reply to the nobles' letter of 12 November).[42] Honorius congratulated the army on its success and picked out Pelagius for special praise. Presumably prompted by the letter supporting John's claim to Damietta, Honorius voiced his concern of dissension permeating the army and in the *dispositio* ordered that the crusaders show Pelagius due devotion and respect to prevent this.[43] Had the pope wished, this turning point in the campaign would have been a good opportunity to send any strategic directions to the army, but again Honorius merely supported the army and bolstered the position of his legate rather than attempting to control the campaign.[44] The pope was striving to maintain the cohesion of the crusade host until Frederick could arrive to assume overall command. The main role of Pelagius – at least as perceived at the curia – was to bind the army together until this time. In this sense the expedition was far from a 'papal crusade'.

As the crusade wore on, the Emperor-elect Frederick continued to defer his crusade departure. In two documents issued on 24 July 1220, Honorius informed Pelagius to expect receipt of funds from the twentieth, sent a comprehensive account of its collection and

distribution between 1218 and 1220, and also updated the legate on Frederick's situation.[45] Honorius announced that Frederick would not be able to arrive in Rome for his imperial coronation before the feast of St Michael (29 September 1220), after which he would finally depart on crusade. The *dispositio* simply ordered Pelagius to continue striving to maintain the integrity of the crusade host in the meantime.[46] These documents supplemented another two letters that had been issued to Pelagius on 1 July, notifying the legate that funds were being transferred through the Paris houses of the Hospitallers and Templars.[47] Honorius played a crucial role in the crusade by transferring relevant information to keep the army abreast of European affairs that had a bearing on its strategic direction.

Around Easter 1220, King John left the crusade army to travel back to the kingdom of Jerusalem. When news of his departure reached the curia, Honorius attempted to exert control over John and issued a letter addressed to him on 11 August 1220.[48] The letter complained of the damage that John's absence was doing to the crusade, and Honorius counselled the king to return to it. The *dispositio* ordered John not to attack Christian Armenia under threat of anathema.[49] John did not return until 7 July 1221 – just in time for the crusade's doomed march into the Egyptian interior. Historians have given a number of explanations for his return, but the fact that it took 11 months from the issue of the papal letter for John to return to the crusader army implies that he was not only motivated to return by the pope's strictest orders, as Mayer and Van Cleve have propounded.[50] Honorius's attempt to exert control over a prominent crusade leader was thus only partially successful and reveals the pope trying to restore the existing status quo rather than imposing a new direction on the crusade.

After crowning Frederick emperor on 22 November 1220, Honorius wrote to Pelagius on 30 November, informing him of developments at the curia.[51] As it stood, Frederick was planning to leave in August and Duke Louis of Bavaria would lead a vanguard force in March. Honorius told his legate that in urging the duke on, the curia had promised him 2,000 marks from Pelagius's funds, and in the *dispositio* he ordered the legate to set this money aside unless Louis delayed, in which case Pelagius was authorized to use the money to support the crusade by another means.[52] Honorius then wrote to Pelagius again on 15 December, restating Frederick's expected departure date and ordering in the *dispositio* that the legate rally the crusaders to stand firm until the emperor's arrival.[53]

Even after achieving his diplomatic goal of imperial coronation, Frederick still did not leave on crusade, and Honorius sent another letter to Pelagius on 2 January 1221 commenting on the uncertain nature of Frederick's participation.[54] As a result, Honorius suggested in the *dispositio* that Pelagius might probe the matter of a temporary truce with the Muslims to see if a deal could be struck that would be to the glory of God and Christendom, and then to report back to the curia.[55] Aside from the letter pressuring King John to rejoin the army, Honorius's order to seek a truce is the only real example of him explicitly seeking to direct the course of the crusade. Yet this order was not couched in unequivocal terms and only instructed Pelagius in the subjunctive that he might provide for a truce ('provideat') – the decision to conclude a temporary peace was thus left to the legate's judgement.

On 20 June 1221, Honorius issued his last letter to the leadership before the Fifth Crusade foundered.[56] This letter to Pelagius, the military orders and the archbishop of Bordeaux concerned Frederick's delays and the advancement of the crusade. The *narratio* reveals that Pelagius had written back to the pope about the terms of a potential peace treaty, which Honorius and the legate agreed were unsatisfactory.[57] The *dispositio* therefore ordered the recipients to proceed carefully in the meantime until Frederick's arrival.[58] Although Honorius did intervene in the direction of the crusade at this juncture, the important conclusion to make is that the pope was content to be guided by his legate's judgement rather than dictating a course of action.

Having examined the *dispositio* clauses of all Honorius's extant letters to the army of the Fifth Crusade, we can conclude that, despite being in close contact with the army leadership, the pope's role was indeed that of a coordinator and supporter rather than a director. Most of the letters carried information on Frederick's preparedness and the collection of the twentieth rather than papal orders for the expedition's direction. There is no evidence in the registers that Honorius sought overall command of the crusade, which would have been impractical anyway given his reliance on information from the army and the time delay between issue and receipt of correspondence, which was measured in months and was heavily dependent on the sailing seasons that dictated Mediterranean crossings.[59] Only three letters from the entire crusade were orders that sought to influence the campaign's direction. The three letters concerned the muster on Cyprus, King John's intentions in Armenia and the question of a

temporary truce.[60] Even the import of these documents must be considered with the caveats explored above in mind. Honorius appears to have been satisfied to allow the crusade's leadership – among whom the legate Pelagius could be counted – to control the campaign and did not direct, or attempt to direct, the Fifth Crusade himself from the papal curia in Italy.

Notes

1 I wish to thank Bernard Hamilton and Barbara Bombi for kindly commenting on this paper.

2 Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in *HC*, vol. 2, p. 378.

3 Helmut Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen, 1969), p. 154: 'Die These, Innocenz habe die Könige vom Kreuzzug fernhalten wollen, ist nicht länger zu halten.'

4 Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford, 1988), pp. 216–17, 218.

5 Ibid., p. 227.

6 *Anatomy*, p. 111. See also p. 108.

7 Ibid., p. 172.

8 Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, 1997), p. 1.

9 Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), p. 606.

10 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216–1227): Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)* (Leiden, 2013), p. 46: 'Honorius confia la direction de la croisade durant l'été au cardinal Pélage d'Albano, qui avait déjà défendu les intérêts du Saint-Siège en Orient.'

11 On *dispositio* clauses, see: Reginald L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery Down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 43–44; Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 2000), p. 12.

12 *Anatomy*, p. 114; Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 97–98.

13 *Anatomy*, p. 116.

14 The 15 letters examined in this chapter are those sent to the army and the legate on the subject of the crusade: Pressutti, vol. 1, nos 673, 1580, 1581, 1824, 2195, 2338, 2514, 2517, 2574, 2575, 2610, 2800, 2866, 2940, 3478. Honorius also sent ten letters to Pelagius concerning his other duties as legate in the Near East: ibid., nos 1298, 1394, 1433, 1524, 1527, 1528, 1540, 2876, 3495, 3500. Similarly, one other letter was also despatched to King John of Jerusalem regarding his claim to the Armenian throne: ibid., no. 2320. These extra letters, however, do not directly impinge upon the question of Honorius's control over the Fifth Crusade and therefore are not examined in this chapter, although they do prove that Honorius was in very close contact with the crusader army and especially his legate.

15 For registration practice at Honorius's curia, see Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 71–75.

16There was no unequivocal pattern for the registration of curial letters, although letters of importance – such as those regarding the crusade – were often included: Paulus Rabikauskas, *Diplomatica pontificia*, 6th edn (Rome, 1998), p. 82. Harry Bresslau warned that although the papacy's important outgoing political letters were frequently registered, this was not always the rule, and therefore the registers do not represent a complete record of papal political correspondence: Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 3rd edn (3 vols, Berlin, 1958), vol. 1, p. 121.

17For example, see below, p. 19, for the lost papal letter to the Emperor-elect Frederick, issued around late November 1218.

18For example, see below, p. 18, for the crusader report despatched to the curia immediately after arrival of the legate Pelagius in Egypt in the autumn of 1218. On *narratio* clauses in papal letters, see: Poole, *Lectures*, pp. 43–44; Frenz, *Papsturkunden*, p. 12.

19Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana 9, fol. 138r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 672; *Bullarium Cyprium*, ed. Christopher Schabel, Charles Perrat and Jean Richard, 3 vols (Nicosia, 2010–12), vol. 1, no. c-3, pp. 183–85.

20Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 138r: 'ut secundum tue discretionis consilium in negotio Christi ordinate procedant, sicut idem rex tue celsitudini per suas litteras dicitur intimare, serenitatem regiam rogamus et monemus attente quatinus sicut causam Christi zelaris, eis illuc per te vel sollempnes nuntios occurrere non omittas impensurus eisdem, prout tua noscitur specialiter interesse consilium et auxilium oportunum.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 673; *Bullarium Cyprium*, vol. 1, no. c-4, pp. 185–86.

21For a more detailed discussion of this, as well as Honorius's relations with John of Brienne and Frederick II, see Thomas W. Smith, 'Between Two Kings: Pope Honorius III and the Seizure of the Kingdom of Jerusalem by Frederick II in 1225', *Journal of Medieval History*, 41 (2015), pp. 41–59.

22Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 138r: 'sicut idem rex tue celsitudini per suas litteras dicitur intimare'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 673; *Bullarium Cyprium*, vol. 1, no. c-4, p. 185.

23Pressutti, vol. 1, nos 291, 330, 371. For a more detailed analysis of the Cyprus meeting in particular and Honorius's relations with John as king of Jerusalem in general, see: Smith, 'Between Two Kings', especially pp. 48–49.

24William of Chartres' report has been dated to the end of October 1217: Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIIIe siècle*, 3 vols (Nicosia, 2005), vol. 3, no. 499, pp. 432–33.

25Reg. Vat. 9, fols 177r–78r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 885. The *in eundem modum* copy sent to Reims is not recorded in the register, but is printed in *RHGF*, vol. 19, p. 639. The archbishop of Oristano in Sardinia (*Alboren*' in the papal register) proved troublesome to identify and I gratefully acknowledge help from Anne Duggan and Jan Vandeburie which set me on the right path. For the identification of Oristano with the Latin title *Arboren*', see: *Numerus et tituli cardinalium, archiepiscoporum, & episcoporum Christianorum* [editor unknown] (Paris, 1545), p. 24.

26The crusader report is preserved as a copy in Honorius's letter to the crusaders at Genoa: Reg. Vat. 10, fols 9v–10r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1581.

27Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 10; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1580; *Bullarium Cyprium*, vol. 1, no. c-22, pp. 207–09.

28Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 10: 'Interim igitur vos sicut fideles servi et strenui milites Ihesu Christi firmi et constantes estote, ac quod pernecessarium est unanimes et concordes quasi vir unius uno numero serviatis Domino Deo vestro, et quicquid oculos divine maiestatis offendit, quantum humana permittit fragilitas evitetis, ita ut supernum auxilium quod nostris et aliorum fidelium precibus vobis impetrare

satagimus, debeatis merito expectare.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1580; *Bullarium Cyprium*, vol. 1, no. c-22, pp. 208–09.

29 Reg. Vat. 10, fols 9v–10r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1581. This letter is dated using the 'Datum ut supra' formula in the register. The letter registered immediately before it is dated 27 August, whereas the reply to the crusader army registered immediately after it is dated 13 August. If one places one's trust in the dating formula, then the date of this letter to the French contingent must be 27 August; it is possible, though, that this is a case of scribal error.

30 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 10r: 'Monemus igitur universitatem vestram, rogamus et exhortamur in Domino, per apostolica vobis scripta precipiendo mandantes quatinus attendentes discrimen in quo positus est exercitus Christianus nisi succursum habuerit festinatum, provideatis et disponatis ac irrefragabiliter ordinetis quod tam vos quam alii crucesignati qui ad portum Ianuensem conveniunt versus Damiatam in nomine Domini sabaoth dirigatis celeriter iter vestrum, quia sicut et littere ipse innuunt et nuntii qui attulerunt eas expressissime dicunt, certa spes est quod si vos et alii crucesignati applicueritis ad civitatem iamdictam, et illa et tota Egyptus ab eo cuius est terra et plenitudo eius dabitur in manus populi Christiani.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1581.

31 Pelagius did not arrive until the autumn of 1218 and so was too late to help compose the 15 June report, whose authors were named as the patriarch of Jerusalem, King John, the archbishop of Nicosia, Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, the bishop of Bethlehem, the duke of Austria, the masters of the Hospital, Temple and Teutonic Orders, and all the barons, clergy and people besieging Damietta: Reg. Vat. 10, fols 9v–10r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1581. The later and now-lost second report which Honorius refers to in his letter of 27 November 1218 was sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Pelagius, Bishop of Albano *apostolice sedis legatus*, King John, the masters of the Hospital, Temple and Teutonic Orders, the duke of Austria, the foremost among the Roman contingent, and the other prelates and magnates besieging Damietta: Reg. Vat. 10, fols 30v–31v; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1716.

32 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 31r: 'Monemus igitur universitatem vestram et obsecramus per aspersionem sanguinis Ihesu Christi, qui pro vobis tradidit semetipsum, quatinus ponentes ante oculos vestre mentis quantum gaudium quantaque exultatio erit iustis in Domino, si ceptum negotium finem ipso dante habuerit exoptatum, et apud vos recogitantes e contra, quantam confusionem quantumque memorem contrarium afferret toti populo Christiano, prefato exercitui succurratis, sicut res expostulat festinanter providentes quod vos filii crucesignati proximo Martio vel saltem Madio transfretetis.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1716.

33 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 50r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1824.

34 Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 50r: 'Quocirca devotionem tuam de qua plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, monemus et hortamur attente, per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes quatinus provideas diligenter, ut pretaxata pecunia ita utiliter expendatur, quod nos nostro proposito nullatenus defraudemur, quin potius gaudentes exinde quod intendimus adimpletum ad subveniendum Terre predicte magis ac magis iugiter accendamur.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 1824.

35 H-B, vol. 1, pp. 584–86. Frederick's letter was also copied into Honorius's register: Reg. Vat. 10, fols 57r–58r.

36 Rudolf Hiestand, 'Friedrich II. und der Kreuzzug', in *Friedrich II.: Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, ed. Arnold Esch and Norbert Kamp (Tübingen, 1996), p. 135; David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988), pp. 128–29; Wolfgang Stürner, *Friedrich II., 1194–1250* (2 vols, Darmstadt, 1992–2000), vol. 2, p. 87.

37Reg. Vat. 10, fols 96v–97r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2071.

38Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 128; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2195.

39Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 128v: 'Noveris autem multitudinem signatorum ad Terre Sancte festinare succursum ad quem etiam karissimus in Christo filius noster Fredericus illustris Sicile in Romanorum Imperatorem electus speratur recepta Imperii corona in proximo accessurus, quare sicut alter Iosue populum Domini corrobora et conforta sustinens et sustinere docens difficilia quoque animis indefessis, ut opus Dei quod laudabiliter incepisti, ipso auctore valeas feliciter consumare.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2195.

40A copy of the crusaders' letter is preserved in the *Chronicon Tolosani canonici Faventini*, in *Cronache dei secoli XIII e XIV*, Documenti di Storia Italiana 6 (Florence, 1876), pp. 704–06. *Anatomy*, p. 164.

41*Chronicon Tolosani*, pp. 706–07. Guy Perry has also drawn attention to a previously unknown third letter written at this time by John of Brienne to the Emperor-elect Frederick. It is closely connected to the barons' letter of 12 November: Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 103–09. The letter is edited in ibid., pp. 198–200. See also Guy Perry in Chapter 4 of this volume.

42Reg. Vat. 10, fols 161v–62v; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2338.

43Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 162v: 'Ideoque universitatem vestram rogamus attentius et hortamur per apostolica vobis scripta precipiendo mandantes quatinus eidem in predictis omnibus devote ac humiliter more solito intendatis.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2338.

44Much has been made of the award of temporal power to Pelagius in this letter, but Powell has argued convincingly that the term *temporalia* merely reinforced Pelagius's original appointment mandate and referred to Pelagius's power to divide new territorial conquests rather than representing the appointment of the legate as the crusade's military leader. *Anatomy*, p. 180; James M. Powell, 'Honorius III and the Leadership of the Crusade', *Catholic Historical Review*, 63 (1977), pp. 530–31. See also Joseph P. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 70; Van Cleve, 'Fifth Crusade', pp. 420–21.

45Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 1; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2574; Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 1v; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2575.

46Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 1v: 'Porro licet exhortatione non indigeas aliena qui stabilitus fidei firmamento, spei erectus virtute, caritatis fervore succensus, et totius divine armature a dextris, et a sinistris protectione munitus faciente Domino tecum signum in bonum nosti confortare manus dissolutas et genua debilia roborare, ne tamen aliquid de contingentibus omittere videamur, fraternitatem tuam monemus et hortamur in Domino quatinus in ipso confidens qui dat virtutes, et premia elargitur semper ad fortia studeas mittere manus tuas, ut de virtute proficiens in virtutem bravium accipias destinatum.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2574.

47Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 193v; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2514. Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 195; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2517.

48Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 7r; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2610.

49Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 7r: 'Licet igitur confidamus quod tu hec prudenter attendens evitabis aliquid attemptare per quod perire ac evacuari posset totus labor quem hactenus pro Terra Sancta subiit populus Christianus, ex habundanti tamen sub obtentu gratie divine ac nostre et sub anathematis pena tibi auctoritate presentium districtissime inhibemus, ne hoc tempore aliquatenus arma moveas contra ipsos Armenos aut quos libet alios Christianos, sed studeas ut tota Christianitas ultramarina in unitate consistat, et venerabili fratre nostro Pelagio Albanensi episcopo aspostolice sedis legato qui strenuitatem tuam frequenter suis

nobis litteris commendavit, sicut persone nostre reverenter intendens, studeas quod commune populi Christiani negotium desideratum largiente Domino consequatur effectum, postmodum tuis specialibus commodis operam decentius utiliusque daturus.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2610; Claverie, *Honorius III*, no. 49, p. 359.

50 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 167; Linda Goldsmith, 'John of Brienne (d. 1237)', in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray (4 vols, Santa Barbara, 2006), vol. 2, p. 691; Van Cleve, 'Fifth Crusade', p. 424; Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 226.

51 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 37v; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2800.

52 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 37v: 'Ideoque fraternitati tue presentium auctoritate mandamus quatinus si dux ipse moram in exercitu Christiano fecerit congruentem, dictam pecuniam sibi de hiis que tibi Dominus per misericordiam suam et per nostrum studium ministrabit, per diversos terminos tribuas cum ea providentia et cautela, quod in iamdicte Terre subsidium convertatur.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2800.

53 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 49r: 'Confortare ergo in Domino et in eius servitio Christiani exercitus corda confirma, desideratum succursum favente Domino magnifice habiturus.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2866.

54 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 61v; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2940.

55 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 61v: 'Quid autem ipse et ante coronationem suam et in die ipsius coronationis promiserit quamque sollempniter promissionem suam in omnium astantium audientia publicaverit, et quos et quales, et quantos sollicitaverimus ad subsidium Terre Sancte per alias litteras iam ad te credimus pervenisse. Verum quia futura frequenter dubio suspenduntur eventu circumspectio tua provideat si medio tempore possit haberi tractatus qui ad gloriam Dei et Christianitatis cedat honorem, et quod occurrerit nobis ante quam stabilias aliquid cito et caute rescribas, ut facta collatione de illis, que per te nobis fuerint intimata, et hiis que tunc parata viderimus ad succcursum dirigatur prudentius negotium Ihesu Christi, et provideatur salubrius subsidio Terre Sancte.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 2940.

56 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 146; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 3478; Claverie, *Honorius III*, no. 54, pp. 366–68.

57 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 146r: 'Porro benigne receptis litteris tuis et consideratis que olim a parte altera sunt oblata, et que ab eadem noviter offeruntur, pactio in litteris ipsis expressa, cum iam dudum conditionem habere potuerimus eque bonam sicut te quasi statim quod Egyptum applicuisti accepimus referente, grata nobis non potuerit existere vel accepta.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 3478; Claverie, *Honorius III*, no. 54, p. 366. For analysis of the grounds for rejecting the two peace treaties offered during the Fifth Crusade, see Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 96–97.

58 Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 146v: 'Cum autem nos in sinu circumspectionis tue caput intrepidi reclinemus, per apostolica tibi scripta mandamus quatinus predicta diligenter attendens et circumstantias considerans universas, habito magnorum et prudentum virorum de exercitu quos videris expedire consilio sive super hoc seu super aliis cum ea que te decet et tantum negotium maturitate procedas prout ad gloriam Dei et Christianitatis salutem cognoveris procedendum.'; Pressutti, vol. 1, no. 3478; Claverie, *Honorius III*, no. 54, pp. 366–68.

59 The average passage from the West to the Holy Land took around four to six weeks and most journeys were made during the two seasonal passages – the first beginning in late March and early April and the second finishing in late September and early October – in order to avoid the more dangerous winter sailing conditions. Sailing back to the West from the Near East against the prevailing winds took about twice as long as a journey made with the winds. See John H.

Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 3, 38, 87, 117.

60 Pressutti, vol. 1, nos 673, 2610, 2940.

3‘Totius populi Christiani negotium’

The crusading conception of Pope Honorius III, 1216–21[1]

Pierre-Vincent Claverie

The registers of Honorius III contain almost 200 letters dealing with the organization and support of the Fifth Crusade, the departure of which was scheduled for June 1217 by the Fourth Lateran Council. The papacy wanted to entrust the *negotium Terre Sancte* to the faithful who had solemnly received the sign of the cross. Medieval canonists distinguished the *crucesignati* from *crucesignandi*, whose declarations of intent should have been followed by a solemn commitment to the defence of the holy places. During the Fifth Crusade, these fighters received a significant amount of correspondence from Honorius, whom we know oversaw the drafting of the curial letters sent during his pontificate because there is evidence that he corrected the addresses of letters which seemed to him to be erroneous.[2]

It is therefore possible to conduct a detailed analysis of the phraseology and patristic references used by Honorius in his exchange of letters. The pontifical devotion to the Holy Land emerges forcefully from the notification of his election that Honorius sent to the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, on 25 July 1216. This encyclical, copied in the beginning of the first papal register of Honorius, mentions the death of Innocent III and the new pope’s willingness to provide a ‘swift rescue to the Holy Land’. This declaration of intent was communicated on the same day to the European prelates, from whom the pope expected unwavering support:

> We desire and ordain that you diligently summon the crusaders of your dioceses not to let their hearts grieve on account of the disappearance of our aforesaid predecessor, or fear that the rescue of the Holy Land suffers, because if our ability seems inferior to his own, however, we aspire not least by greeting the liberation of this land.[3]

Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront have revealed the milestones that led the Roman Church to recommend the visit, and then the

defence of the holy places. The Gregorian papacy managed the feat of sacralizing the struggle against the 'infidels' or 'Saracens' in the late eleventh century, which only had a political dimension in the previous centuries because of their repeated incursions into Europe. The granting of a plenary indulgence to fighters who died on the way to Jerusalem ensured the dissemination of the idea of crusade in Western aristocratic lineages. Reconquest of the holy places brought the papacy to hone its rhetoric in the twelfth century, as evidenced by some of the sermons written by Cencius after his accession to the throne of St Peter as Honorius III in 1216.[4]

The middle position of the clergy in Christian society

The homilies of Honorius are divided into two types: those covering the Christian liturgical calendar and those concerning the celebrations of the major Roman saints. Their reading reveals the thought of a prelate of the twelfth century, who was attached to the achievements of the Gregorian reform and the principle of papal supremacy that Innocent III defended. A critical line of fracture ran through the Western society according to Honorius, who favoured binary representations: 'It was soundly established, and established by the ancient fathers: just as temporal and spiritual actions are performed with the fear or love of God, so there are two orders which coexist in the Church, one being secular, the other one clerical, and two lives, namely active and contemplative.' The prominent position of the papacy stems from the Petrine legacy, which Matthew summed up in this way: 'And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. 16:18–19).[5]

St Peter was not only the vicar and counsellor of Jesus during his lifetime. He was also established as his 'successor on earth' in a speech reported by the Apostle John: 'Feed my sheep!' (John 21:17). This mission led Honorius to question the authority of the papacy in a sermon for the second Sunday of Lent:

> What is said of Peter, can it be said of his successors? To all is given the power to bind and absolve, to all are entrusted cure and protection of all churches so that their orders guide the people of God through the preaching of the word and make grazing them by the example of good deeds, while interceding for their sins before God.[6]

This development reveals the profound thought of Honorius, who developed from 1217 ‘a way of correspondence between the progress of the crusade and the religious state of the West’, according to the pertinent comment of Dupront.[7]

The pope defines the role of the clergy in one of his sermons as a forced mediation between God and men:

> The prelates of churches, that is to say, bishops and priests, must daily implore divine mercy by their prayers and offerings for the sins of the whole people. They need to pray for the sick and sins [committed on earth], because their prayers ascend to God promptly. These must be mediators between God and men, and they should behave in such a way that they are satisfied by God and well received by men. To these, it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, while others need to discover parables. These [priests] can shake God and incline him towards mercy.[8]

Honorius based his argument on an extract from the First Epistle of St John, which promises salvation or eternal life to the faithful man whose brother turns to God when a venial sin is committed (1 John 5:16).[9] This example reveals the extent of the patristic culture of the pope and the simplicity of his theological demonstrations that influenced some of his diplomatic correspondence after 1216.

Honorius’s first sermon on the Nativity reveals his perception of the Incarnation of Christ, who has given a series of benefits to mankind:

> We can talk about liberation because we were prisoners of the first man’s sin. Through the Passion and the Cross [of Christ], we are freed from the power of Satan and reconciled with God. Serious discord reigned in effect between God and man, as the latter, by sinning, turned away from the divine authority to submit the Devil. A lasting peace cannot be reasonably established between them, because man does not have the power to render to God the homage that had compromised his faults.[10]

The rest of the papal demonstration relies on a series of New Testament citations, tending to prove that the blood of Christ cleansed the Christians of all their sins. Honorius connects them to a promise of sanctification addressed by the Apostle Paul to the Ephesians in one of his epistles: ‘In him, God chose us before the foundation of the world in order that we could be holy and blameless before him’ (Eph. 1:4). The glorification of God’s people was a matter of time for Honorius – St Paul stated that the Christians’ place is in heaven, where Christ will give their body the appearance of his glory (Phil. 3:20–21). Without being original, the pope’s thought emphasized the clerical mediation which was necessary to ensure human salvation.[11]

The triptych described by Honorius became a quadriptych when he

evoked the figure of the Virgin, whom he compared to a fortress of faith insensitive to demoniac temptations: 'Holy Mary is like the tower of David, that is to say, impregnable and provided by several bastions, since she was placed under the protection of the angels from her birth.' The pope goes on to assimilate Mary with the wife of Solomon. The Canticle of Canticles (Song of Solomon) compares her neck with an arsenal of 1,000 shields (Cant. 4:4). He continues by claiming that 'what is said of the wife, can be applied to the Church, whose head is Christ, members, the followers, and the neck, Holy Mary … For, as the head is united to members by the neck, God is connected to men by St Mary; and, as the voice of the body issues through the neck, the prayers for sins are relayed to God by the Virgin'. These anatomical metaphors responded to a strong symbolism of Western patristic, dating back to the second century.[12]

The Marian devotion of Honorius is reflected by another sermon, in which he compared the purple robe of the Virgin with the *paludamenta* of Roman emperors. He justified its use with the fact that the Mother of God gave birth to the King of Kings, and the compassion which she felt during her lifetime was a royal virtue associated with the colour purple. From purple to red, there was only one step that the Holy Father skipped when he dealt with the involvement of the military orders in favour of the 'land reddened by the blood of Christ'. Although many historians have tried to present Honorius as a blind supporter of the Teutonic Order, a bull of 18 January 1217 reveals his admiration of the Templars, in which he wrote that the secular and regular clergy must respect the persons and property under the threat of anathema:

> As [our] beloved son, the brothers of the knighthood of the Temple, like true Maccabees bearing the cross of the Lord on their bodies, are exposed to extreme dangers to defend Christendom, and, leaving carnal desires behind, set themselves up as disciples of Jesus Christ, it is worthy and consistent with reason that they can be quiet and free from the persecutions of oppressors because we sincerely love the aforesaid brethren in the Lord, by the bond of religion and honesty, and we work to breathe and maintain by all means their reputation by the universal grace of God.[13]

The predominance of holy shrines in Honorius's thought

The devotion of Honorius to the land visited by Christ emanates from many contemporary chronicles. The account of Burchard von Ursberg

relates an anecdote that contributed to establish the popularity of Honorius among the faithful, despite mistakenly dating the capture of Jerusalem by the Muslims (1187) to the pontificate of Clement III:

> Pope Honorius himself whilst preaching in the Roman city, proclaimed that Jerusalem would be recovered by the Christians during his priesthood, as he claimed to have understood from a miracle. When he was *procurator* of Cardinal Giacinto, who was later pope under the name of Celestine [III], it occurred that Giacinto was sent on legation to Spain by Pope Clement [III]. While preparing for the journey and because he had no money, he sent his *procurator*, then called Cencius, through the city of Rome in order to collect money for his expenses and requirements relating to his journey. While he was asking many people for money, Cencius saw coming in a solitary place, where he was isolated due to his quest, an imposing, venerable and honourable man. The latter having asked him why he was walking in a manner so eager and anxious in the streets of Rome, he signified his reason for traveling. He replied to him: 'Return your steps for your lord will not go to Spain!' Cencius asked on admiringly: 'But how do you know this, good father?' The other one replied: 'Know that this is true, as it is true that the pope will die and your lord will succeed him.' As nobody could have conceived such a hope, Cencius replied that he could not reasonably believe; then the man added: 'Know that this is true, as it is true that the city of Jerusalem is captured today by the Saracens and it will not be released from their grip until your pontificate!'[14]

Burchard von Ursberg claimed that the story took hold around the time of the death of Innocent III and wrote that Honorius III would be the pontiff who would liberate Jerusalem. Honorius's advanced age thus led the people of Christendom to hope for a quick resolution to the crisis that had begun with the defeat of the kingdom of Jerusalem at Hattīn in 1187.

This anecdote illustrates the fervour that shook the German empire after the installation in Rome of Honorius III in September 1216. The appearance of St Peter, which Cencius was witness to on 2 October 1187, belongs to a well-known literary genre: the *exempla* that the preachers used in their sermons to capture the attention of the audience or to win their approval. The gift of second sight is not peculiar to Christian authors. The Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) reported a similar story which occurred in Sicily the day that Edessa was taken by the Muslims on 23 December 1144. The commitment of Honorius to the liberation of the Holy Land was based on the belief that there was a mystical connection between the Christian West and its 'spiritual homeland'.[15]

The mysticism of the pope allows us to understand some of the theological framework in which the Fifth Crusade flourished from 1217. Moreover, his sermons reflect a deep attachment to the 'land

covered by the footsteps of Christ' and the city of Jerusalem, in which the Second Coming would occur at the end of time. For Honorius, Jerusalem symbolized the human soul when it tends towards God. Did not Jeremiah say in one of his prophecies that Jerusalem will be called in the near future the throne of the Lord (Jer. 3:17)? The pope saw in Jerusalem a representation of a peace vision that would arise when the truth reigned on earth. This digression was based on the Chaldean etymology of Jerusalem, which means the Abode of Peace (*YERU SHLM*). Honorius thought that the earthly Jerusalem would remain unfinished as long as the one who speaks about peace keeps malice in his heart according to a Davidic formula (Ps. 28:3). In his eyes, Jerusalem was like a living fountain of faith that symbolized the community of the faithful (*congregatio fidelium*), inspired by God. He compared the city to the primordial fountain flowing in the middle of Paradise by saying that it helped to spread salvation in the midst of the earth. For him, the Holy City remained the centre of the world and the ultimate goal of the struggle against the 'infidels'.[16]

Honorius saw his future in a sermon on the fourth Sunday of Lent, in which he incited the city of Jerusalem not to lament Christ's long absence: 'If He is slow to come, He will not delay much in His eyes, because a thousand years do not represent more than the day before, where He will again be present.' The pontiff then began a theological speculation in order to clarify the context of the glorious return of Christ:

> Like men and angels, the towers of Jerusalem are all completed and the abundance of all things will fill them. This abundance is not perfect, because the number of the [further] saints is not defined yet. If we perceive this phenomenon today enigmatically through a mirror effect, we will soon see it personally as John says: 'We know that when He appears we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him as He is' (1 John 3:2).[17]

Honorius continued his reasoning by stating like Isaiah that righteous men would be able to contemplate one day 'a king in his glory' who corresponded to Jesus. Quoting the authority of the Book of Job, he connected this vision with the golden rose that popes exhibited in the Middle Ages. He attributed to the rose a triple meaning in relation to the New Alliance promised by Jesus to the people of Israel. The golden rose symbolized, in his eyes, as much the fruit of salvation promised to the Christians as the model of perfection they could reach, or the elected people who would have to shine in the kingdom of God according to the New Testament (Matt. 13:43). This

interpretation explains the tradition of Roman pontiffs offering a golden rose to the most pious sovereigns of Christendom since the eleventh century.[18]

The thought of Honorius was enriched by a reflection on the Jerusalemite history evoked in the Bible. The decline of the Holy City was explained, according to him, in a lament of Matthew about the treatment the city reserves to the prophets (Matt. 23:37):

> Repetition of Jerusalem is like a complaint or objurgations [in the mouth of the Apostle]. It is as if he said: 'O Jerusalem, I have promoted you to the rank of master of the nations and first of the provinces, but because you kill the prophets and the Lord of the prophets, I condemn you to hell. Jerusalem, I honoured you by granting you a temple, a clergy and the royal dignity, but because you stone those who are sent to you, I will not leave any stone standing within your walls, as you did not recognize the time of my visit.'[19]

Honorius refers in this passage to the Incarnation of Christ – a belief not common to Judaism. He continued his argument by commenting on the Jews' disbelief of the miracles of the Son of God. For him, Christ invited the faithful to humility, patience, obedience and charity through his sacrifice.

The liberation of the holy places was in the mind of the pope a priority for Christians of all obediences. In July 1217 he sent a reprimand to the Duke of Epirus, Theodore Doukas, who held captive a Roman cardinal accompanying the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Peter of Courtenay. The pope went on to threaten Theodore with preaching a crusade against him, in case he refused to release Cardinal Colonna. The mission order issued on 4 November 1217 to Archbishop Peter of Sens proves that Honorius distinguished this rescue expedition from the *subsidium Terre Sancte*. The French clergy were prohibited from diverting any crusaders that had made vows for the liberation of the Holy Land against Frankish Romania. The pope's determination was so consistent that in January 1218 he ordered Bishop John of Crotone to collect a three-year tithe among the Latins who served the cause of Theodore Doukas in order to help the Holy Land.[20]

A crusade marked by the seal of penitence and miracle

The provisions of the pope help us to define the ideological background against which the Fifth Crusade evolved from 1217 and to

understand the popularity of a number of contemporary eschatological writings. The trend was not new, for the preaching of the Fourth Crusade had revived the old eschatological ferments of the millennium. The West sank into an even more intense fever 20 years later, when the faithful saw giant crosses in the German sky before the crusaders perceived supernatural events during the capture of the Portuguese town of Alcácer do Sal.[21] The registers of Honorius contain a letter of the bishops of Lisbon and Évora, which attributes the victory over the Almohads to the juxtaposition of three successive miracles. The first stems from the unexpected arrival on the night of 10/11 September 1217 of the Templar Pedro Alvítiz at the head of a numerous band of brothers and knights of Portugal and León. The second miracle manifested on the day of the battle through the appearance in the sky of a banner bearing the Cross of Christ. The last prodigy took the form of involvement in the fight of a brilliant knight, reminiscent of 'the heavenly militia with a blinding livery', who supported the Templars in Egypt during a later exploit.[22]

These examples reveal the deep mysticism that accompanied the course of the Fifth Crusade until 1221. It is not surprising, therefore, that some German crusaders believed that St Jacques and St Vincent fought in person on the battlefield of Alcácer do Sal in the summer of 1217. The news roused Honorius, who gave thanks on 12 January 1218 to the 'ineffable piety, great mercy and invaluable kindness' which the Lord had credited to his faithful. He replied to the Portuguese bishops that the cross that appeared in the sky of Alcácer do Sal on 11 September was proof of God's commitment to the Christians. He did not fail to shed tears of joy in reading the account of the battle and he organized a concert of praise through the city of Rome with the support of the population. We know that his commitment to the crusade led him to organize a procession in the Eternal City in November 1217, during which the heads of St Peter and St Paul were exhibited.[23]

The account that the pope gives in a letter to the clergy of Sardinia illustrates the penitential aspect of the crusade that prevailed in his time. In this epistle, Honorius incited the archbishop of Oristano to support through prayer the army of the king of Hungary and other princes that was confronting Egyptian forces in Palestine:

> We have freely poured our soul before God when we learned the news of their entry [the crusaders] into the predicted land, seeking to intercede with God in a flood of tears. As we are not confident in the quality of our merits, we convened with the clergy and the city's population in the Basilica of the

> Saviour, and have walked barefoot with the prelates and the heads of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, to the church of the glorious Mother of Christ in order to obtain greater support for the aforementioned athletes of Christ, because we were doubtful of the influence of our personal merits. Really, because these affairs are brought by the entire Christian people – as they are worthy – we planned solemn processions, the first Friday of every month, in every city and place populated, so that every believer could intercede in favour of the crusaders, by prostrating humbly during his prayer.[24]

Joshua Prawer has shown that the spiritualization of the crusade was part of the line of thought of Innocent III, who in 1213 established the organization of monthly processions in Europe in the hope of hastening the liberation of the Holy Land. His encyclical *Quia maior* combined these ritual prayers with fasting and alms campaigns with the intent of capturing more easily and quickly God's attention. Innocent was to introduce a new prayer into the ritual of Mass after the exchange of the kiss of peace:

> God, who has the marvellous and inclusive providence, we implore you by our supplications to snatch from the hands of the enemies of the Cross the land, which your unique son has consecrated with his own blood, and to convert it to the Christian worship, by directing the wishes of the faithful with mercy towards its instantaneous liberation in the way of eternal salvation![25]

It appears that Honorius generalized these practices after the launch of the Fifth Crusade by fidelity as well as conviction. His letter to the archbishop of Oristano places his approach under the authority of the Bible by remembering that God spared the people of Nineveh after their humiliation and Moses routed the Amalekites by a simple prayer. Meanwhile, Joshua managed to stop the course of sun to repel an attack against the city of Gibeon (Josh. 10:12). For Honorius, these elements proved the omnipotence of God in military matters.[26]

Thus, on 13 August 1218 Honorius informed the crusaders that he had taken measures to hasten the passage of the crusaders who arrived in Italy. He tried to reassure his interlocutors by recalling that the Scriptures were full of examples that God often hands over the multitude of almighty men to the weak. Two biblical quotes were supposed to convince them of the unwavering support of God in the events that loomed in Egypt (1 Sam. 2:10 and Exod. 15:6). The rest of Honorius's letter reveals his military ethics and his assimilation of the crusaders with knights placed under the orders of the Roman Church:

> In the meantime behave as faithful servants and powerful knights of Jesus Christ, firm and steadfast. It is necessary that you stay united and pacified – almost to a man – and that you serve God, your Lord, with one voice. Abstain

> from all things that offend the Divine Majesty, so far as human frailty permits it! You can in this way fully deserve the greater support we try to bring you with our prayers and those of other faithful.[27]

Despite this advice, it was not until 5 November 1219 that Christians were able to subdue the city of Damietta. The pope congratulated the crusaders on 24 February 1220 and exhorted John of Brienne and the legate, Pelagius of Albano, not to use the conquered territories to fuel vain dissension. Honorius makes a long comparison between Joshua, who divided the land of Canaan between the various tribes of Israel, and Pelagius, whom God promoted to the head of the Christian army to provide a new land of election to the faithful. The pope counselled the crusaders not to overestimate their strength given the challenges that lay ahead. His praise of the 'power of divine virtue' incited him to recommend the figure of his legate, to whom he granted spiritual and temporal authority on crusade.[28]

This decision was not good news for John of Brienne, who had annexed a part of Damietta against the will of the legate by claiming his royal prerogatives. The hostility between the two men went so far that in August 1220 the pope had to summon John of Brienne to rejoin the host at Damietta after he left in order to assert his rights to the throne of Cilicia. Moreover, Honorius ordered his legate *a latere* to open negotiations with the Ayyubids on 2 January 1221 with the hope of obtaining a profitable treaty. He renewed his directives in June, taking into consideration the exorbitant cost of the crusade and the multitude of casualties recorded since the outbreak of hostilities.[29]

The lamentable failure of the expedition led Honorius to reproach Emperor Frederick II and the crusaders who had trusted the mirage of his passage to the East in a letter of 19 November 1221. The pontiff denounced the injury inflicted on Jesus Christ and the humiliation suffered by Christendom after the capitulation at Barāmūn in August. Honorius considered the *negotium Terre Sancte* as an expression of the commitment of Christians to Christ as well as the seven sacraments of the Church. Thus, he sent the cardinal legate Nicholas da Chiaromonte to the emperor with the hope that 'God would give him the desire to continue the business of the Christian faith'. On 19 December 1221 he informed the high clergy of this mission and ordered them not to delay. The failure of the crusade had to encourage the faithful to strive towards Jerusalem with a tenfold strength. God's help could indeed, according to an Augustinian principle, counteract the sins of the Christians which had compromised the success of the Fifth Crusade.[30]

It is easy to understand that the conceptions of Honorius differed little from those of Innocent, who said during the Fourth Crusade that the Christians had to support a small evil in order to achieve a greater good. Innocent reminded the crusaders in May 1203 that their only goal was the deliverance of the Holy Land and the revenge of the insult inflicted on the Crucified. Honorius's projects parted little from this guideline during the Fifth Crusade, and the pope organized solemn processions to curry favour from heaven. The two men shared a universalist vision of the crusade, considering the 'Saracen' as the perfect enemy of the Christians and the Holy See as the organizer of the expedition that would reconquer the holy shrines. This objective needed the sacrifice of the persons and properties of the clergy, Palestine being the spiritual good which all the faithful had to claim in order to fulfil the will of God.[31]

Document: the official reaction of Honorius III to the failure of the Fifth Crusade

19 November 1221, St John Lateran,

> *Pope Honorius III proposes, under pain of anathema, the foundations of a new crusade under the responsibility of the cardinal legate, Nicholas da Chiaromonte, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, after having rebuked Emperor Frederick II over his procrastination during the Fifth Crusade.*

F[rederico], illustri Romanorum imperatori semper augusto et regi Sicilie.

Merore plenas tibi cogimur litteras destinare, quia nostram animam acerbi doloris gladius pertransivit et adhuc incessanter concidimur vulnere super vulnus. Cum enim flebilis casus exercitus Christiani nos dolore intolerabili sauciaverit, deplorantes non tam labores et sumptus, quos jam per quinque annos indesinenter pertulimus quosque Christianus populus in rebus et personis subiit, esse prorsus ammissos, quam confusionem Christiani nominis et ipsius injuriam Jhesu Christi, qui peccatis nostris exigentibus blasphematur. Ecce novi doloris vulnere sauciamur, clamante contra nos universo populo Christiano et nobis ruinam prefati exercitus imputante, ac publicis improperante clamoribus, quod totum orbem confudimus Christianum, eo quod te, sicut noveras, transire non compulimus in subsidium Terre Sancte, culpam tuam in nos penitus refundendo, et utique non prorsus immerito, quia revera, dum tibi nimis detulimus, reliquimus Christianum exercitum sub periculo casus, quem hodie

deploramus. Ut enim recenseamus ab exordio culpam nostram, scis quod te jam a pluribus annis crucesignatos sub spe ac specie tui transitus detinente, nos tue morem gessimus voluntati, ne promotio tue sublimitatis, ad quam aspirabamus ex animo, posset nobis aliter facientibus retardari. Postmodum vero te cum instantia postulante, ut excommunicaremus te et crucesignatos Teutonie universos, nisi una cum illis in subsidium Terre Sancte transires infra eum quem ipse tibi terminum prefixisti, in hoc quoque gessimus tibi morem; set quotiens ipsum prorogari terminum postulaveris, et quotiens in hoc tue acquieverimus voluntati, et nos scimus et tua prudentia non ignorat. Denique quam solempniter et quam publice in tua coronatione promiseris, te in succursum dicti exercitus transiturum, cismarini noverunt et etiam transmarini. Unde propter exspectationem tui subsidii, quod etiam per litteras tuas promisisti exercitui sepedicto, refutata est compositio, per quam Jerosolimitana civitas restituebatur cultui Christiano; ac demum tota Christianitas passa est illius confusione[m] opprobrii, quod nulla poterit oblivione deleri. Quid igitur mirum, si contra nos et contra te murmurat, immo clamat populus Christianus, si credit et dicit nos tibi dedisse licentiam remanendi, ac per hoc nobis imputans totum malum quod accidit, nos et Romanam ecclesiam pro te inauditis lacescere contumeliis non desistit? Certe si hoc tecum digna meditatione pensaveris, recognosces in te gravis culpe periculum, nec ante letitia vero letaberis, quam feceris aliquid, per quod satisfecisse Deo et hominibus videaris. Expergiscere igitur, expergiscere, serenissime princeps, et ad vindicandam injuriam Christi et nominis Christiani accingere totis viribus, toto corde. Pensa, quam magna tribuit tibi Deus, et satage juxta humane possibilitatis modum in hoc sibi articulo retribuere pro omnibus, que retribuit ipse tibi. Profecto, si debitum extimes, nullum invenies, qui te amplius Domino teneatur, cum nulli fecerit ampliora quam tibi. Si oportunitatem serviendi sibi in hoc articulo cogites, in nullo eam majorem poteris repperire, cum copia rerum necessariarum ad hoc negotium pre ceteris ipso largiente redundes, potens terra et mari, dives personis et rebus et ad prosequendam Christi injuriam ipsa vicinitate plus aliis oportunus. Porro si gloria est querenda, de quibus potest gloriosior haberi a Christiano triumphus quam de inimicis nominis Christiani? Queve potest esse magis gloriosa victoria, quam que et temporalem gloriam tribuit et sempiternam insuper repromittit? Eja igitur, assume animum celsitudine tua dignum, et Deo, cui servire vere regnare est, te devotum impende, sciens quod, si hoc negotium aggredi animose curaveris, nos ad ejus promotionem

diligens studium et studiosam diligentiam adjuvante Domino impendemus. Et ecce speramus in Domino, quod si hoc negotium cum digna devotione susceperis, ipse illud in tuis manibus prosperabit facilius quam speretur, quia etsi in hoc novissimo articulo prospere nostris cesserit inimicis, constat tamen illos esse plurimum fatigatos et inextimabilia personarum et rerum dispendia pertulisse, propter quod si viderint bellum ex adverso consurgere et te personaliter instaurato exercitu transfretare, saltem ad compositionem, nisi fallimur, facile inducentur, per quam rehabebimus sancta nostra, et Christianus populus, qui nunc confusionis ignominia premitur, in redivive letitie[32] gloriam erigetur. Illud autem nolumus te latere, quod si nec Christiane fidei zelo nec nostris exhortationibus excitatus, in negotio, quod absit, fueris tepidus memorato, nos tibi non parcemus[33] ulterius, nec saluti nostre nec utilitati totius populi Christiani te amplius preferemus; quin immo te tamquam voti proprii contemptorem excommunicatum solempniter publicabimus,[34] idque per totum Christianum orbem faciemus in confusionem tuam publice nuntiari. Tu ergo sicut vir sapiens et catholicus princeps diligenter attende que dicimus, et cave prudenter, ne te ipsum in ejus articulum difficultatis inducas, de quo facile nequeas expediri. Et ecce mittimus ad te venerabilem fratrem nostrum, Nicolaum Tusculanum episcopum, Apostolice Sedis legatum, virum utique prudentia et religione conspicuum et nobis inter ceteros fratres nostros suis meritis exigentibus specialiter carum, et, sicut certis argumentis comperimus, tibi devotum ac fidum, excellentiam tuam rogantes [et hortantes][35] attente, quatinus ipsum, immo verius nos in ipso, digna devotione suscipias et ejus salubribus monitis et consiliis humilis et mansuetus intendas; ita quod devotione tua per exhibitionem operis apparente, nos illum sincerum amorem, quo tuam amplectimur celsitudinem, continuare perpetuo ac ampliare merito debeamus. Datum Laterani, XIII kalendas decembris, pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

Source: ASV, Reg. Vat. 11, fol. 166.

Edition: Rodenberg, vol. 1, no. 183, pp. 128–30 (with some omissions and corrections).

Notes

1The translation of this chapter has been established with the help of Mrs Reine Nays (University of Rennes II).

2James A. Brundage, *Medieval Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), pp. 30–114; Peter Herde, *Beiträge zum päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen im dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn (Kallmünz, 1967), pp. 149–212; Patrick Zutshi, 'The

Personal Role of the Pope in the Production of Papal Documents in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in W. Pohl and P. Herold (eds), *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens: Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz* (Vienna, 2002), pp. 225–36.

3 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216–1227): Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)* (Leiden, 2013), no. 1, pp. 282–84; Horoy, vol. 2.2, nos 1–2, cols 1–5.

4 Pierre Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, *2nd edn (*Paris, 1995*), pp.* 9–42*;* Jean Flori, *'*La formation des concepts de guerre sainte et de croisade aux XIe et XIIe siècles: prédication papale et motivations chevaleresques*', in* D. Baloup and P. Josserand (eds), *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte: Guerre, religion et idéologie dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Toulouse, 2006), pp. 133–57.

5 Horoy, vol. 1, col. 713, vol. 2.1, col. 90.

6 Ibid., vol. 1, col. 758.

7 Alphandéry and Dupront, La chrétienté, pp. 387–88.

8 Horoy, vol. 2.1, col. 155.

9 Honorius distinguishes himself radically from his predecessor on this point.

10 Horoy, vol. 1, col. 669.

11 Ibid., cols 669–70.

12 Ibid., vol. 2.1, col. 61; J. Daniélou, *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs* (Paris, 1961).

13 Auguste de Loisne, 'Bulles de papes pour l'ordre du Temple conservées aux archives nationales (1155–1312)', *Bulletin philologique et historique du comité des travaux historiques*, 31 (1917), p. 190.

14 *Chronicon Urspergensis Burchardi praepositi*, ed. O. Holder-Egger and B. von Simson, in *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 16 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1916), pp. 112–13; see also Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 10.

15 Donald S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh* (3 vols, Aldershot, 2006–08), vol. 1, p. 373; Aryeh Graboïs, 'Les pèlerins occidentaux en Terre Sainte au Moyen Age: une minorité étrangère à sa patrie spirituelle', *Studi Medievali*, 30 [3rd series] (1989), pp. 15–48.

16 Horoy, vol. 1, cols 885, 896, vol. 2.1, col. 256.

17 Ibid., vol. 1, col. 801.

18 Ibid., cols 801–02; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *La cour des papes au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1995), pp. 243–44.

19 Horoy, vol. 1, cols 724, 851.

20 Ibid., vol. 2.2, cols 481–82; Pressutti, nos 859, 1029.

21 Alphandéry and Dupront, *La chrétienté*, pp. 295–96, 389–407; Jean Flori, *Prêcher la croisade (XIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2012), pp. 274–81; Menko, *Chronicon Werumensium*, in *MGH SS*, vol. 23, p. 533; *Chronicon Leodiensis*, in *RHGF*, vol. 18, p. 632; Hoogeweg, p. 173.

22 Rodenberg, vol. 1, no. 35 pp. 27–28; Joseph-François Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades* (4 vols, Paris, 1829), vol. 2, p. 591.

23 John Tolan, *Le Saint chez le Sultan: la rencontre de François d'Assise et de l'islam, huit siècles d'interprétation* (Paris, 2007); *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange (3 vols, Cologne, Bonn and Brussels, 1851–57), vol. 2, p. 137; Rodenberg, vol. 1, no. 42 pp. 32–33; Odorico Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. A. Theiner, vol. 20, (Bar-le-Duc, 1870), p. 371.

24 Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. 20, p. 371 (with the formula 'totius populi

Christiani negotium').

25 Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 2nd edn (2 vols, Paris, 1970), vol. 2, p. 132; *PL*, vol. 216, cols 820–21. One must point out that Innocent III had organized similar processions in Rome as early as 1212 'for the peace of the universal Church and Christian people'.

26 Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. 20, pp. 371–72.

27 Rodenberg, vol. 1, no. 78 pp. 56–57.

28 Horoy, vol. 3, no. 86, cols 392–93; ASV, Reg. Vat. 10, fols 161v–162v; *Ernoul*, pp. 426–27.

29 Rodenberg, vol. 1, no. 159, p. 112; Claverie, *Honorius III*, no. 49, pp. 358–59, no. 54, pp. 366–68.

30 Rodenberg, vol. 1, nos 183–85, pp. 128–31 (compare below the new edition of the letter sent to Frederick II in November 1221).

31 Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III et la question d'Orient* (Paris, 1907), pp. 100, 115, 284–85, 289, 291; Flori, *Prêcher la croisade*, pp. 281–82.

32 MS: 'letitiae'.

33 MS: 'parcemur'.

34 MS: 'publicavimus'.

35 Words added in the right margin of the manuscript.

4From King John of Jerusalem to the Emperor-elect Frederick II

A neglected letter from the Fifth Crusade

Guy Perry

In the aftermath of their capture of the Egyptian city of Damietta in November 1219, the Fifth Crusade's leaders composed various letters. This chapter focuses on just one of these, effectively a 'new discovery'. Whilst the main aim of the chapter is to reshape discussion about the expedition's leadership, the letter can also serve as a timely reminder that French archives still have much to tell us about the crusading movement.[1]

This 'new' letter was written at about the same time as a pair of much better-known texts that were sent to Pope Honorius III. The earliest and most official of the three can serve as a way into the background and context. It was issued by the crusade's principal leaders, en masse, on 11 November 1219. They reported their recent great victory, the capture of Damietta, yet they were also anxious to stress their need for reinforcements and money. They urged the pope to compel *crucesignati* to come out to Egypt as soon as possible.[2] The crusaders at Damietta had come to pin their hopes on the greatest of these absent figures, namely the Emperor-elect and King of Sicily, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had taken the cross at his German coronation in 1215, but he had not yet departed for the East.[3] Although the Fifth Crusade had begun without him, the emperor-elect was very closely connected with the expedition. The late Pope Innocent III had encouraged departure from muster ports located within Frederick's Sicilian *Regno*.[4] Moreover, the host that eventually crystallized consisted largely of crusaders who hailed from the emperor-elect's own territories.[5] Now, following the capture of Damietta, the expedition's leaders explicitly asked Pope Honorius to ensure that Frederick personally fulfilled his crusading vow.[6] It was plain that they wanted him out in Egypt, as soon as possible, to lead the crusade to victory.

For all the difficulties inherent in their situation, the crusade's

leaders were anxious to present a 'united front, dedicated to the successful conclusion of the crusade'.[7] But this entailed papering over serious divisions. Such rifts were fed by the lack of a single preponderant figure in Egypt or of 'a [clear and] decisive command structure'.[8] At this stage, in late 1219, the crusade's commander-in-chief was the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne.[9] However, King John lacked the capacity to dominate the crusader host. What leadership he provided does seem to have been significantly undermined within six or seven months of his election as 'chief' (*cheveteine*). Buttressed both by ideological and by material considerations, the newly arrived papal legate, Pelagius, had begun to fill the breach over the course of late 1218–19.[10] But this state of affairs was not intended to continue for very long. By the end of 1218, at the very latest, the pope was doing all that he could to get the emperor-elect out to Egypt to take over the crusade.[11] From then on, if not earlier, Pelagius's mission could essentially be summarized as follows: to 'maintain the [expedition]' until Frederick was ready to lead it.[12] As James Powell has stressed, this meant that Pelagius's and King John's outlooks often coincided. But there were notable moments of tension and disagreement, particularly over whether to accept the peace offer tendered by the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-Kāmil, just before Damietta finally fell to the crusaders.[13]

The capture of Damietta brought all of these matters to a head. 'The main bone of contention was, of course, control of the city itself.'[14] As the expedition's *cheveteine*, John insisted on his right to claim the lordship. It was Pelagius, however, whom the pope had entrusted with the disposition of the crusade's conquests and other acquisitions. Moreover, there were a hefty number of Frederick's supporters within the host and they would surely have urged Pelagius not to cede Damietta to the crusade's mere interim commander.[15] Fortified by such 'imperialist' backing, Pelagius resisted John's demand, arguing, not entirely unselfishly, that Damietta should belong to all, under the Church – at least until Frederick's arrival.[16]

Over the course of the next few months, Pelagius provoked the wrath of many within the crusader host by presiding over a series of divisions of the spoils that were not to their liking. It has sometimes been implied that John was able to triumph over Pelagius and take possession of Damietta largely because he took advantage of the legate's unpopularity. But this view appears to rest on a misreading of the chronology. It was not, it seems, until rather later – in December and early January 1219 – that the crusaders rioted against Pelagius.[17]

By contrast, there is good reason to believe that the dispute over whom Damietta should belong to, for the present, was settled on or by 11 November – that is, within a week or so of the city's capture. Over the course of that week, John may well have tried to crank up the pressure on Pelagius. Perhaps it is true that, with the support of his Jerusalemite barons, the Templars and Hospitallers, the king armed three galleys and threatened to withdraw from the crusade if his right to Damietta was not acknowledged.[18] Yet this could well have been written with the benefit of hindsight, since John did indeed quit the crusade in Egypt a few months later.[19] However, Powell is surely quite right to suggest that Pelagius had caved in by 11 November, conceding that John would have the city, at least until the coming of the emperor-elect.[20] On that day, as has already been noted, the crusade's principal leaders addressed Pope Honorius en masse. In this, their 'official' report to the papacy, no mention is made of any recent major disputes within the crusader host.[21] Yet, as Powell indicates, the order in which the leaders' names appear suggests that John had made good his claim to Damietta – and so, for the present, the city was attached to the crown of Jerusalem.[22] The names are listed in the following order. First, most notably, come the spiritual and temporal heads of the kingdom of Jerusalem: the patriarch, Ralph of Merencourt, and King John himself. Then follow the remaining clerical leaders, with Pelagius a fair way down, in his capacity as Bishop of Albano.[23] It does look as though he had quickly lost the argument.

Just a day later, however, on 12 November, a group chiefly consisting of northern French barons sent their own follow-up letter to Pope Honorius. Many of these lords hailed from roughly the same part of France as John of Brienne himself. The leading figures in the group – Simon of Joinville, seneschal of Champagne, and Erard of Chacenay – were numbered amongst John's Champenois kinsmen. Both had probably had substantial dealings with him before he had gone east, in 1210, to become king of Jerusalem. Indeed, the principal reason for Simon and Erard's participation in the crusade was surely that they had needed an 'honourable exit' from the hopeless war they had been fighting in Champagne, under the leadership of John's notorious cousin, Erard of Brienne, lord of Ramerupt. King John does seem to have covertly assisted his cousin in making the conflict possible. Once it was under way, though, it was politic for the king to make a point of holding himself aloof, giving Erard of Brienne and his supporters no further assistance of any kind. But neither Simon, nor Erard of

Chacenay, now seems to have held a grudge against John for this.[24] The two of them had been part of the main circle of leaders who had written to the papacy only the day beforehand. The new letter – the 'French barons' missive', as we may call it for short – effectively endorsed that previous one, but it also contained a crucial coda.[25] The French barons expressly sought to commend King John to the pope, asking Honorius to be especially attentive to him and his needs.[26]

This is the context for the 'new' letter from John to Frederick II, which was written on the same day (12 November 1219).[27] It has been fascinating to discover that this little-known letter actually survives in two distinct versions, which we may label after their provenance: 'Paris', printed below, and 'Innsbruck' (which, it is hoped, will shortly be published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series by Professor Josef Riedmann). Both versions are nearly identical for the first 270 words or so – that is, right up to the point at which the king has just mentioned the conquest of Damietta. At this juncture, the Paris text quickly comes to a formal close. By contrast, Innsbruck branches out into its own concluding section – longer, in fact, than the rest of the letter put together – in which the capture of the city is described in much more detail.[28]

It is certainly tempting to accept the Innsbruck version as the better recension of the letter: it is, after all, a medieval transcript, dating from around 1260, whereas the Paris text is much more recent, written in an early modern hand. However, there are good grounds for believing that Innsbruck's long ending is an interpolation, added by someone else later, to describe the capture of Damietta in much greater length than John himself ever did in the original letter. For a start, the text that Paris and Innsbruck have in common is full of terms such as 'we' and 'us', to refer to John and the crusaders, and 'you', to denote Frederick II. But such personal pronouns suddenly drop out of the letter, and they can scarcely be found at all in Innsbruck's extensive concluding section. Likewise, as Innsbruck finally draws to a close, John and Frederick are referred to not as 'we' and 'you', but in the third person ('a rege Ier[oso]l[i]m[itano] … ad adventum regis F[rederici]'). It is worth adding that Innsbruck does not conclude formally, with a dating clause, whereas Paris does.[29] Hence, it seems quite clear that Paris is the better basic text of the letter, for all its faults, and that it should be preferred to Innsbruck.

What follows is the text and a translation of the Paris version, which can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 11900, fol. 129. Lat. 11900 is volume 15 of a series that bears the rather

unhelpful title of ‘Anecdota’. This particular volume reached its final form as late as 1896. It consists of early modern transcripts of thirteenth-century documents, mostly arranged in chronological order. The majority of these documents concern northern French affairs, in particular the doings and dealings of high-level nobles. A truly fascinating tome, Lat. 11900 could well contain several other highly significant texts that have not yet come to widespread scholarly attention.

Text:

Excellentissimo ac dilectissimo domino F. dei gratia Romanorum Regi semper Augusto et Regi Siciliae; I. eadem gratia Hierosolymitanus Rex salutem in eo qui dat salutem Regibus. Novit vestra dominatio a prudentibus viris saepius fuisse consultum, et in sancto Lateranensi Concilio fuisse approbatum, quod per invasionem Regni Babyloniae terra sancta posset facilius a manibus infidelium liberari. Nos autem ad ejusdem terrae liberationem modis omnibus intendentes, relicto Regno nostro, licet ad damnum et detrimentum omnium reddituum nostrorum, hoc opus aggredi non dubitavimus, de divino et vestro subsidio confidentes. Sicut enim audivit Excellentia vestra, in primis applicavimus ante Damiatam qua hostes Christi castellum montis Tabor subverterunt, et castellum Planentiu[?30], et alia loca in Regno Hierosolymitano, quod est valde bonum principium ad recuperationem terrae Sanctae. Haec et alia commoda venerunt inde hac occasione prout scis. Postquam [editing hand adds here: ‘vero fluvium transivimus de quo audistis et civitatem’31] undique obsedimus, subverterunt Civitatem sanctam Hierusalem. Verum ea quae nobis obtulerunt nomine Treugarum antequam expugnata esset civitas, per latorem praesentium et multos ad vos transeuntes plenius audietis. Tamen ea nihilominus vobis per praesentes litteras declaramus. Obtulerunt etiam nobis quod redderent si vellemus pretiosum lignum Christi et Totum Regnum Hierosolymitanu, exceptis duobis castris Circo videlicet Ipreserasence[?32], et ex eis tributum reddere promittebant. Redderent similiter omnes captivos qui in duobus Regnis detinentur, Syriaco videlicet et Damasceno[*sic*?33]. Praeterea dare volebant pecuniam ad reedificandam sanctam civitatem Hierusalem. In hoc tandem nostri convenerunt, quod primum civitas expugnaretur Licet hoc opus causa liberationis Terrae Sanctae fuerit inchoatum, et omnium Cruce –signatorum intentio talis fuit. Contigit enim, quod auxiliante divina potentia civitatem Damiatam expugnavimus tertia feria proxima post festum omnium Sanctorum ad Laudem et gloriam nominis Christi. Modum autem ex processum34 [rei latorem?35] Dominationi vestrae supplicavimus, ut nos et Terram sanctam habeatis propentius comendatos ad ejusdem terrae liberationem intendentes cum festinatione, prout vestra nobilitas noverit expedire. Datum secundo Idus Novembris.36

Translation:

To the most excellent and dearest lord F., by the grace of God king of the Romans, semper Augustus and king of Sicily; from J., by the same grace king of Jerusalem, greetings in Him who gives salvation to kings. Your lordship knows

> that prudent men have very often advised, and the holy Lateran council agreed, that through an invasion of the kingdom of Egypt, the Holy Land might be more easily liberated from infidel hands. We indeed, intending to free this land by all means, left our kingdom, although this involved suffering great damage and detriment to all our revenue; yet we did not hesitate to begin this work, trusting in divine help and yours. As your lordship has heard, when first we came before Damietta, the enemies of Christ destroyed the castle of Mount Tabor, and the castle of [name not clear – see n. 30], and other places in the kingdom of Jerusalem: which represents a good starting point from which to recover the Holy Land. These and other benefits came from there at that time, just as you know. After [editing hand adds: 'we crossed the river of which you have heard, and besieged the city' – that is, Damietta] on every side, they destroyed the holy city of Jerusalem. Indeed, you will hear through the bearer of this letter, and from many that are on their way to you, concerning the truce that they offered to us, before that city [Damietta] was conquered. Nonetheless, these [terms] we declare to you in this letter. They offered us, if we wished, the precious True Cross and the whole kingdom of Jerusalem, except the two castles of Kerak and [Montréal], for which they promised to pay a tribute. They would likewise return all the captives that they hold in their two kingdoms, that is Syria and Damascus [*sic* – see n. 33; 'Egypt and Syria/Damascus' is surely what is meant]. Moreover, they would give us money for the rebuilding of the holy city of Jerusalem. We convened regarding this matter when first the city [Damietta] was [to be?] taken. [Yet] this undertaking to free the Holy Land had only just begun, and such was the intention of all the crusaders. So it came to pass that, with the aid of divine power, we took the city of Damietta on the third day following the feast of All Saints [4 November], to the praise and glory of the name of Christ. For just as the bearer of this letter will report on the progress of these things [? – text not clear], we beg your lordship that you keep us, and the Holy Land, closely commended to you, for we intend to free it speedily, just as you know. Dated the second of the Ides of November [12 November].[37]

Disregarding the Innsbruck interpolation, this is the only known text of a letter exchanged between John and Frederick, although they were clearly in touch with one another later.[38] The letter reads as though John is establishing a correspondence rather than continuing one. Skilfully, he seeks to set up a relationship, almost of equals, with the emperor-elect: he offers Frederick 'greetings in Him who gives salvation to kings'. John presents himself as the crusade's leader, making no mention of anyone else. He emphasizes that he and his kingdom have suffered in order to bring about the liberation of the Holy Land, yet he adds that he trusts 'in divine help and yours'. John looks back at the crusade's 'grand strategy' ever since the start of the Egyptian campaign, a year and a half earlier, and justifies it – in particular, through the formal approbation of the Fourth Lateran Council.[39] He then guides the emperor-elect through the main events

of the crusade so far, dwelling on the positive developments that have occurred in the Holy Land itself. The message – which is, in fact, accurate enough – is that the grand strategy is working. As the crusaders tighten their noose around Damietta, so the Ayyubids have been obliged to destroy more and more of their own fortifications in the Holy Land, leaving the latter progressively more vulnerable to invasion.

John draws attention to three key loci, and the first of these is Mount Tabor. The castle at the top of the mountain had posed a genuine threat to the security of the rump kingdom of Jerusalem, and its construction had been the immediate *casus belli* for the Fifth Crusade. Thus, its dismantlement represented a particularly noteworthy triumph.[40] Perhaps John also mentions the demolition of Banyas, although the name of the stronghold in question is not quite clear. But he reserves a special emphasis for the observation that, as the crusaders encircled Damietta, the Ayyubids had responded by destroying Jerusalem itself – for which we should read 'the fortifications' rather than the whole city. Although this development was potentially beneficial from a Western perspective, it was also an outrageous sacrilege. John's letter culminates in a terse account of the greatest success of the crusade so far, the capture of Damietta. In short, it shows that the Ayyubids were in serious straits, losing their grip in Egypt and the Holy Land simultaneously. All Frederick has to do is fulfil his crusading vow in person, or send a sizeable host out to the East, in sufficient time. Victory will surely follow.

We can measure the precise extent of Ayyubid alarm through the peace proposals put forward by the Egyptian sultan, al-Kāmil, just before Damietta was lost to the crusaders. There are two key questions about these proposals that require an answer here. First, why are both John's letter and the French barons' missive so quiet about the fact that the king had been in favour of accepting the terms? The response to this is simple enough: it would set John in a bad light if it was spelt out. He had taken a view that now looked mistaken, since the rejection of the deal had been followed by the crusade's greatest triumph, the capture of Damietta. Moreover, when pressing his opinion, he had been overruled by the expedition's other principal figures. Wrong, and not in control. Small wonder that the king and his allies gloss over this.[41] The second question is: why do John and the French barons describe the peace proposals in such detail, whereas the official report, of the day before, barely mentions them at all? A variety of suggestions can be put forward here, though none of them

commends itself particularly. Were the king and his allies emphasizing the *rejection* of the terms to the emperor-elect and the pope? Or were they still in favour of the deal, and did they describe it in such detail precisely because they wanted Honorius and Frederick to order its acceptance? Or was all this simply part and parcel of the process of keeping the emperor-elect and the pope fully apprised about the unfolding situation in the East? Whatever the truth on this point, a common thread is provided by the presentation of King John as the crusade's leader, at least for the moment.

The most obvious point, surely, is that John's letter and the French barons' missive are extremely closely connected. Perhaps this comes across most plainly from how closely they replicate each other's language when describing the peace proposals.[42] From the dating clauses, it would seem that the letters were written on the same day. Indeed, they may well have been composed more or less concurrently. All of this can help to confirm that the letters represent a conscious political move by King John and a particular group of his allies. That said, it is worth remaining reticent about how much we can know about this development, since it existed within a context of many other forms of interaction that are now lost to us. It is surely significant, for example, that John explicitly refers to the oral, additional communication that his messenger will deliver to Frederick. Indeed, this is especially noteworthy in view of the obvious lacuna not only in John's letter, but also in all the others that have been discussed in this chapter. None of them speaks openly about the dissension and splits that were clearly still racking the crusader host.

It is these that really explain the letters of 12 November. To remind ourselves of the precise chronology: Damietta's future had recently been settled (but only for the time being) and the crusade's principal figures had just composed their official report for Honorius III. On the very next day, John's French allies wrote their 'follow-up' letter to the pope, commending the king's judgement and loyalty, whilst John himself suddenly addressed the emperor-elect directly, presenting himself as the leader of the expedition and appealing for aid and support. Both these letters should be seen in the light of the struggle for possession of Damietta and in view of the increasing likelihood that Frederick II would arrive, in the not too distant future, to take over the campaign. In short, John's letter should be read as an assertion of his status not only over the crusade, but also over Damietta. We may conclude that it was becoming necessary to stress both these points to Frederick.

There is a final twist in the tale that makes this all the more intriguing. At the time that these letters were being written, John was hoping to leave Egypt and return to the northern Levant to make a bid for the Cilician Armenian throne, to which he had a claim through his queen.[43] The letters of 12 November could well have been intended to ensure that both the pope and the emperor-elect regarded the crusade and the lordship of Damietta in the way that John wanted, even whilst the king himself was away. In the event, however, what really drove John back to the kingdom of Jerusalem was Ayyubid moves against the priceless city of Acre and the urgent need to garner resources for the next stage of the conflict.[44] Over the course of this long sojourn in the Holy Land, John forfeited his effective authority over the crusader host, which remained immobile at Damietta. However, the crusade and the city both remained formally his, since Frederick never appeared in person. But in the end, it has to be said, John's loss of control actually redounded to his benefit. In the summer of 1221, the king finally returned to Egypt, and then he, Pelagius and Frederick's representative, Duke Louis of Bavaria, steered the crusade to disaster, marching south from Damietta towards the sultan's camp. However, John was in a position to emphasize that although he was still the formal leader of the crusade, he had opposed its last, fatal advance. This could well have contributed to the preservation of the king's exalted reputation as a soldier – and this, in turn, may have played its part in facilitating his subsequent, rather chequered career, which culminated in his reign as Latin emperor of Constantinople (1231–37).[45]

Powell has summarized John's political manoeuvring after the capture of Damietta as follows: 'there can be no question but that John and his supporters realized that their problem was not so much with the legate as with his master'.[46] However, Powell himself has shown that the legate was really serving *two* masters at this time, the pope and Frederick, and this does much to clarify the picture. John and his supporters realized that their problems were not so much with the legate and the imperialists in the crusader host, but with the offstage 'great powers'. Accordingly, going straight over the heads of Pelagius and company, John and his allies were clearly trying to deal direct with the emperor-elect and the pope: to refashion their relationship with both on their own terms, if they possibly could.

In short, this 'new' letter tells us about John's relationship with some of his French allies within the crusader host – and it tells us even more about the king and barons' dealings with the pope and the

emperor-elect. It has long been easy to surmise that there could well have been a link between John, the expedition's 'leader on the spot', and the absent commander-in-chief, Frederick II. Only now, though, is it really possible to analyse the nature of such contact, as well as its very existence.

Notes

1 This chapter develops ideas that I have already presented in *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013). I am grateful to Cambridge University Press for their permission to reproduce some of that material here.

2 This letter can be found in Reinhold Röhricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1891), pp. 43–46.

3 See, for instance, the detailed narrative proffered by Wolfgang Stürner in *Friedrich II., 1194–1250* (2 vols, Darmstadt, 1992–2000), vol. 1, pp. 173–246.

4 See *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (2 vols, London, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 267–71.

5 See especially *Anatomy*, pp. 68–87 and also pp. 116–18, 207–58.

6 Röhricht, *Studien*, pp. 45–46.

7 *Anatomy*, p. 164.

8 See especially Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), pp. 634, 643.

9 The 'Colbert-Fontainebleau' continuation (that is, the main text) in *RHC: Occ*, vol. 2, p. 329.

10 See especially *QB*, pp. 83, 124–25; see also *Anatomy*, pp. 149, 152–53.

11 For this, see Thomas W. Smith, Chapter 2 in this volume.

12 Adapted from Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 633.

13 For more on this, see below.

14 *Anatomy*, p. 163.

15 Ibid.

16 See especially the *Gesta obsidionis Damiatae*, in *QB*, p. 115.

17 Note the dates put forward by John of Tolve in his *De domino Iohanne rege Ierusalem*, in *QB*, p. 139.

18 Ibid., p. 138.

19 See below for more on this subject.

20 See especially John of Tolve, *De domino Iohanne*, in *QB*, p. 139; and *Anatomy*, p. 163.

21 However, the report does admit that many crusaders intended to depart 'in instanti passagio'. See Röhricht, *Studien*, p. 45.

22 *Anatomy*, pp. 163–64.

23 See Röhricht, *Studien*, p. 43.

24 For this, see my '"Scandalia … tam in oriente quam in occidente": The Briennes in East and West, 1213–1221', *Crusades*, 10 (2011), pp. 63–77.

25 Remarkably, the coda has sometimes been omitted. See Röhricht, *Studien*, p. 47.

26 Ibid., pp. 47–48; also *Anatomy*, pp. 164, 171–72.

27See especially below.

28There are several distinguished scholars who warrant considerable thanks here. Dr Marcello Pacifico made the crucial link, spotting the similarities between the texts. Professor Riedmann has been very generous with his time and expertise, as well as with his unpublished transcriptions. Above all, though, I would like to record my gratitude to Professor Nicholas Vincent, who was the first to draw my attention towards the very existence of this letter.

29The observations in this paragraph are based on a close comparison of the Paris text and Riedmann's unpublished transcription of Innsbruck.

30Innsbruck has 'Palmeanum' here, but the likeliest candidate is surely Banyas, sometimes rendered as 'Paneas', which was destroyed at around this time. See Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1997), no. 42; *Lettres* (trans.), p. 138.

31This added section is almost identical to a similar passage, which can be found in the main text of the Innsbruck version.

32It is noted in the margins of the Paris text that the two castles mentioned here are Kerak and Montréal. This is confirmed by Innsbruck's 'Craco et Petrensi' (Kerak and the castle of Petra, which is Montréal).

33The Latins tended to take the view that the Ayyubids had two 'kingdoms', namely Egypt and Syria or Damascus. Thus, Innsbruck's 'Egyptiaco et Damasceno' is rather better than what we find in the Paris text.

34The Paris and Innsbruck versions begin to diverge dramatically at around this point.

35The next few words after 'processum' are extremely hard to make out. The suggestions given here make sense in context, and they bear a marked resemblance to what the transcript appears to say before the text becomes clear again at 'Dominationi'.

36Unlike Innsbruck, Paris ends formally, with a dating clause.

37I would like to thank Dr Ida Toth for all her assistance in preparing the text and translation.

38See, for example, Frederick's letter to the pope in *Regesta Imperii*, vol. 5.1: *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard, 1198–1272*, ed. Johann Böhmer, Julius Ficker and Eduard Winkelmann (Innsbruck, 1881), no. 1516; and also Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 124–25.

39For this, see also Hoogeweg, p. 175; and Stephan Kuttner and Antonio García, 'A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council', *Traditio*, 20 (1964), pp. 115–78, here p. 131.

40Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 57–58.

41For more on this subject, see ibid., pp. 94–97.

42See Röhricht, *Studien*, pp. 46–48.

43Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 111–15.

44For this, see especially *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer and Jean Richard (4 vols, Hanover, 2010), vol. 3, no. 638; and Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 111–16.

45Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 121–94.

46*Anatomy*, p. 171.

Part II

Preaching and propaganda

5The impact of Prester John on the Fifth Crusade

Bernard Hamilton

Crusades to liberate Jerusalem were conducted in an atmosphere of apocalyptic expectation which was absent from other types of crusades. This was true of the First Crusade, a phenomenon explored by Jay Rubenstein in *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, and also in the Third Crusade.[1] When Richard I wintered at Messina in 1190 on his way to the Holy Land, he requested an interview with Joachim of Fiore, a Calabrian Cistercian abbot who was credited with prophetic powers and was writing a commentary on the Book of Revelation. The king and the abbot discussed the twelfth chapter of that book: 'And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his head.' Joachim explained that the red dragon was the devil and the seven heads the persecutors of the Church: five of those heads had fallen, but the sixth was Saladin; after he was defeated, there would only be one head left – that of the Antichrist, whose reign would immediately precede the Second Coming of Christ.[2] The apocalyptic atmosphere which developed during the Fifth Crusade was not at all unique.

Apocalyptic writings in the central Middle Ages might be described as histories of the future. There was general agreement among churchmen that at some unknown time in the future, the Antichrist would appear and establish his rule on earth, and this would lead to the Second Coming of Christ, the decisive defeat of the forces of evil, the Last Judgment and the End of the World.[3] Within that framework, there was room for a great deal of speculation, which came to include the role of crusading in the apocalyptic future. It was widely believed that at his Second Coming, Christ would return to the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem from which he had ascended into Heaven.[4] This view was not only held by the clergy: the German pilgrim Theoderic, who visited Jerusalem in the reign of King Amalric (1163–74), reported how on the way from Jerusalem to Bethlehem 'there is a field in which many groups of stones have been heaped up; simple-minded

pilgrims take pleasure in fashioning them in that place, because they believe that on the Day of Judgment they will take their places on those seats'.[5] After the capture of Jerusalem by the Arabs in 638, it was generally supposed by learned churchmen that the Holy City would have to be in Christian hands again before the Antichrist could come and the last days begin.[6] This belief had an obvious application to crusading. Yet after the Holy Land passed into Christian hands, it would need to be protected, and a legend grew up in the late seventh century that when Jerusalem was restored to Christian rule, the Roman Emperor would go there on pilgrimage and place his crown on the cross of Calvary. After his death, the Antichrist would appear. In Western Europe this theme of the Emperor of the Last Days remained very much alive in the twelfth century.[7] In c. 1160 *The Play of Antichrist*, setting out this prophetic vision was written for Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. When his disciples asked Jesus when the End of the World would be, he told them categorically that this knowledge had not been given to human beings, but this did not inhibit speculation.[8] In the eleventh century it was widely believed that the Second Coming of Christ would occur in a year when Good Friday fell on Lady Day, 25 March, New Year's Day in the Julian calendar. The Great German pilgrimage of 1064, led by four bishops, set out in that year because in 1065 Easter would fall on 25 March and the pilgrims wished to be in Jerusalem to greet the Lord when he came.[9] Thus, by the time of the Fifth Crusade, there was a long-standing tradition that the recovery of Jerusalem was a precondition for the final stage of human history. Moreover, among the speculations on this theme was, first, a tradition that a Christian emperor would be enthroned in the Holy City and, second, the prediction that the date of these events would be linked in some way to the date of Easter. These were the kinds of apocalyptic expectations which were current at the time of the Fifth Crusade.

It had been the intention of Innocent III when he planned a new crusade to recapture Jerusalem that its leaders should, where possible, cooperate with Eastern Christians.[10] King Leo II of Cilicia, who had brought part of the Armenian Church into communion with Rome in 1198, was represented at the Fourth Lateran Council, and the Maronite Patriarch Jeremiah, who also acknowledged the papal primacy, attended the Council. The Maronites who lived under Frankish rule in the County of Tripoli had the reputation of being good warriors. For the first time ever, a Western council was attended by a representative of the Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria.[11]

Innocent had also in 1211 written to Queen Thamar of Georgia (1184–1212), whose Orthodox kingdom was expanding southwards from the Caucasus into the Muslim territories of eastern Anatolia, asking her to give military help to the Crusader States.[12] It also seems likely that in 1215 Innocent III chose Jacques de Vitry to fill the vacant see of Acre and charged him with preparing the Crusader States for the new crusade, although Jacques was not consecrated until after Innocent's death in 1216.[13] Jacques regarded it as part of his brief to collect information about Eastern Christians. In 1217 he wrote to his friends in the University of Paris:

> I believe that there are more Christians than Muslims living in Islamic countries. The Christians of the orient, as far away as the land of Prester John, have many kings who, when they hear that the crusade has arrived, will come to its aid and wage war on the Saracens.[14]

Prester John was thus present in the thought of one senior churchmen involved in the planning of the crusade even before the campaign had begun, yet very little was known about him.

Seventy years earlier, in 1145, Otto, bishop of Freising, who was visiting the papal court, met there Bishop Hugh of Jabala in the principality of Antioch, who told him how a few years earlier 'John King and Priest, who together with his people was a Nestorian Christian, living beyond Persia and Armenia in the far east' had launched a successful attack on the Muslim lands of eastern Persia. He was known as Presbyter Iohannes (Prester John) and was said to be of the family of the Magi, the Wise Men who had visited the infant Christ at Bethlehem. He was so rich that he had a sceptre made of emerald and, like his ancestors, wished to visit Jerusalem, but had so far been prevented from doing so. Bishop Otto was writing a history of the world, *The Two Cities*, and included this story in it.[15] In this way many educated people in Western Europe became familiar with Prester John. Hugh of Jabala's account was not entirely a fiction: it is known from Muslim sources that the Kara-Khitai, or Black Cathayans, a people who had moved westwards from the Chinese Empire, had in 1141 attacked the lands held beyond the Oxus by the Seljuk Sultan Sinjar, had defeated his army and overrun this territory. The Khan of the Kara-Khitai was a pagan, but he had some Nestorian Christians among his subjects.[16]

Nestorian is the name used by the Western Church in the Middle Ages to describe those Christians who had refused to accept the authority of the Council of Ephesus in 431 and had left the

communion of the Catholic Church. The name Nestorian is a misnomer: the Council of Ephesus had deposed Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, for heresy, but the Nestorians did not regard him as their leader; they were not themselves heretical, but appear to have misunderstood the terminology which Greek theologians used at the Council of Ephesus. They called themselves the Church of the East and were sometimes called Chaldaeans by Western writers in the Middle Ages who approved of them: this was a reference to the language in which they worshipped, Syriac. It is a convenient term and I shall use it in the rest of this chapter.[17]

The Chaldaeans were found chiefly in the Persian Empire in late antiquity. After the Arabs conquered Persia in the seventh century, the Chaldaeans were tolerated, but were not allowed to evangelize Muslims. However, no restriction was placed on their sending missions beyond the frontiers of the Arab Empire and they met with considerable success, founding churches along the trade routes of central Asia, establishing churches in the Chinese Empire and securing jurisdiction over existing Christian communities on the Malabar coast of south India.[18] Thus, it was true that there was a large number of Christians in Asia beyond the lands of Islam, but what was not true was the belief that they were united under a single powerful ruler.

It was difficult for Western Europeans in the twelfth century to evaluate evidence about central and eastern Asia. Direct access to those lands was blocked in the north by the pagan peoples who controlled the south Russian steppes, and to the south by the Islamic powers who controlled territory stretching from the eastern Caucasus to Morocco. Although Western merchants traded with Muslims, they were not given free access to their inland territories. Western knowledge of Asia was therefore largely based on the work of classical writers, and the information which they gave was at best very out of date and at worst very inaccurate. The East remained in the Western mind a land of marvels populated by monstrous races like the Sciapods and fabulous animals like the manticore. Prester John's realm was situated in this unknown territory and became another marvel of the East.[19]

No one has conclusively solved the origin of Prester John's name. I incline to the view of A. A. Vasiliev that it relates to the Apostle John. In the Gospel of that name it is said that: 'Then went this saying abroad among the brethren that this disciple [i.e. John] should not die';[20] in the Greek text of the Second and Third Epistles attributed to him, the author describes himself as 'πρεσβύτερος', but this is

speculation only.[21]

Prester John might, like the Fountain of Perpetual Youth, have remained a wonder of the East had not a letter from him, written in Latin but addressed to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, begun to circulate in Western Europe in c. 1165. No Greek text of this has ever been found and many scholars believe that the Latin version is the original, a view which I share. In this work the Priest-King describes the extent of his dominions:

> Our magnificence rules in the Three Indies and our land extends from the furthest India in which the body of St. Thomas the Apostle is laid to rest, and stretches through the desert towards the sunrise and returns westwards to the deserted [city of] Babylon beside the Tower of Babel.

The Three Indies over which the Priest-King claimed to rule were understood to be these: the first was the northern half of the Indian subcontinent; the second was the southern half of India; while the third was the Horn of Africa, the point from which, in antiquity, Greek shipping had sailed to the first and second Indies.

Prester John's kingdom as described in his letter was truly remarkable. The Christian Church was established there, but was subordinate to the Priest-King; 72 lesser kings were under his authority and, when he went to war, 10,000 knights and 100,000 infantry marched behind each of his 12 jewelled cruciform standards. Thirty thousand guests dined each day in his palace, where his high table was cut from a single emerald. Amazons and pygmies were among his subjects and the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel were his near neighbours, elephants, gryphons and the phoenix were among the wildlife of his kingdom, while in the courtyard of his palace was a complex magic mirror which enabled him to see what was happening throughout his dominions.[22]

A ruler who does not exist cannot write a letter. My conjecture is that in its present form, the letter originated in the circle of Frederick Barbarossa as a work of anti-papal polemic, but it seems probable that the Western authors did not invent it, instead adapting an existing source. David Wasserstein has examined the correspondence between the Jewish community at Kairouan in Tunisia and the rabbinical Academy at Sura in Iraq dating from 883 about the claims made by Eldad ha-Dani that he had discovered and visited the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Wasserstein has pointed out that there are certain elements in common between Eldad's account of the Land of the Ten Lost Tribes and Prester John's account of his kingdom, and since the

authors of these two sources cannot have had any knowledge of each other's work, both groups of writers were almost certainly indebted to a common source written before 883 AD.[23] Clearly further investigation of this enigma is needed.

The Prester John letter was very popular. It circulated widely in Latin and was translated into most European vernaculars, and additions were made to each new recension. Within a generation of 1165, the Priest-King and his realm had become part of the imaginative world of the medieval West, but also an established part of the received Western cosmography of Asia.[24]

Although Prester John did not exist, a strong Christian power was emerging in Africa at the time of the Fifth Crusade. In 1217, just before the truce between the kingdom of Acre and the Sultan al-Adil came to an end, the Western pilgrim Thietmar visited the Mount Sinai monastery. He climbed the mountain and described the view from the summit, then added:

> There is also a land beyond Egypt, whose inhabitants are called Abyssinians [Yssini]. It is completely Christian … They frequently fight against the Saracen Egyptians. It is their belief in short that they should come to Babylon [Cairo] in such numbers that each of them might remove a stone, and not one stone would be left in Babylon.[25]

The Yssini, or Abyssinians, was the name given in the Arabic-speaking world to the Ethiopians, and their country was known as Habesh.[26] These terms were not familiar to Western Europeans, who at first did not identify the Yssini with the Ethiopians. In late antiquity, Ethiopia had been known as the kingdom of Axum and it had been converted to Christianity in the fourth century, a fact which was known to Western writers in the twelfth century.[27] That kingdom had been cut off from direct contact with Christian Europe by the Arab conquests of the seventh century. It remained Christian and recognized the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria as head of the Church: he appointed the metropolitan of Ethiopia, known as the Abuna, who was always an Egyptian and who held office for life.[28] Between Egypt and Ethiopia were two Christian kingdoms in the Nile valley, occupying much of the territory which is now Sudan. The kingdom of Makuria was situated immediately south of Assuan and its capital was at Dongola; further south lay the Christian kingdom of Alwa, with its capital at Soba on the Blue Nile, quite near to Khartoum. Communications between Christian Ethiopia and Egypt therefore ran through Christian territory and, during the Middle Ages, the churches of Makuria and

Alwa also acknowledged the headship of the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria.[29] Despite the ecclesiastical links with the Egyptian Church, very little is known about Ethiopia between c. 700 and 1150. This changed when a new dynasty, the Zagwe, took charge and began to expand their power in the Horn of Africa.[30] In 1209 King Lalibela (1172–1212) of Ethiopia sent an embassy to Cairo: his envoys brought a liturgical crown of pure gold for the Coptic patriarch and a gift of prestigious wild animals for the Sultan al-Adil, including an elephant, a hyena, a giraffe and a wild ass (perhaps this means a zebra).[31] This caused a sensation in Egypt and rumours began to spread about the power of this distant Christian king, as the pilgrim Thietmar discovered when he visited Mount Sinai.

This knowledge did not reach the pope or his representatives on the Fifth Crusade. Dr van Donzel has shown that there is no secure evidence that Ethiopians came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage before the thirteenth century or that they had a chapel there in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre before c. 1250.[32] So, during the years when the city had been under Latin rule, the Franks had no awareness of Ethiopia. They did know something about the Christian kingdom of Makuria, but only in a very general way.[33] The reason for this ignorance was that in terms of obtaining information about Christian Africa, the papacy was in contact with the wrong patriarch of Alexandria. A permanent schism had occurred in the Egyptian Church in the sixth century: the Orthodox patriarchs of Alexandria remained in full communion with the Byzantine Church and also with the papacy (though communications were fitful after the Arab conquest of Egypt), but they commanded the allegiance of only a small part of the Christian population, whereas the Coptic patriarchs of Alexandria were recognized by the majority of Egyptian Christians and also by the Churches of Nubia and Ethiopia. During the Middle Ages, both patriarchs lived in Cairo, but the Western Church did not make official contact with the Coptic patriarch until 1235, when Philip, the prior of the Dominican convent of Jerusalem, sent envoys to congratulate the Patriarch Cyril III (1235–53) on his enthronement.[34] One consequence of this is that the senior Latin clergy on the Fifth Crusade knew very little about the Christian kingdoms of Africa.

Oliver of Paderborn, historian of the Fifth Crusade, reports that after the fall of Damietta in November 1219, the crusade leaders received a letter from King George IV of Georgia (1212–23) saying that the Georgians would be put to shame by the Franks who had come from far away and captured Damietta if they themselves, who

lived near, did not seize some strong city such as Damascus.[35] At that time, Georgian power extended to the south of Kars in eastern Anatolia and it is arguable that a Georgian attack on the northern provinces of the Ayyūbid Empire, which stretched to Diyarbakir and Mayyafariquin near Lake Van, was a practical possibility. Had that occurred while the Fifth Crusade was in Egypt, it would have posed a serious threat to the Sultanate because it would have been impossible for al-Ashraf and possibly also al-Muazzam to bring their armies to the aid of al-Kāmil.

In the winter of 1219–20, after the fall of Damietta, the crusade leaders were shown an Arabic book of prophecy attributed to Hannan son of Agap or, in some manuscripts, Hannan son of Ishak. This in itself is an indication of the interest which the senior clergy on the crusade took in Eastern Christianity. The prophecy told how Saladin had conquered the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, but how the Franks had reconquered Acre in 1191, and predicted that 'seven times four years and a half later', i.e. in 1219, a Christian army would capture Damietta. It would be led by 'a tall thin-faced man, with authority over them all' ('i home graile e leugier de carn, et feran totas las gens a son comandament'). This description apparently fitted Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate, and, of course, up to that point the prophecy had been fulfilled. The prophecy continued that the crusade would then go on to capture the whole of Egypt. Soon after this, a king would come from beyond the mountains and would capture Damascus, and the king of Albexi or Abismi would invade Arabia and attack Mecca. Then the Antichrist would come and the End of the World would begin. Pelagius had this work translated into Latin and sent a copy to the pope. No one has yet found the original Arabic text and it was probably not preserved, but the translation is found in five manuscripts in Western archives, some in Latin and others in Old French. The prophecy of the two kings presented the translators with problems: the king from beyond the mountains was straightforward. Although the eastern Christian authors almost certainly meant by this the king of Georgia, the translators thought it referred to Frederick II, who had taken the cross, but who was still living north of the Alps at that time.[36] Paul Pelliot is correct in arguing that the king of Abismi was a mistranslation of the king of the Abissini, the king of Ethiopia, because in the sixth century his predecessors, the kings of Axum, had conquered the Yemen, and the threat by their viceroy in Yemen to attack Mecca in 570 passed into folk memory and is recorded in the Quran, where the emperor of Ethiopia is likened to a war elephant.[37]

But the variant readings of the name 'Abissini' found in the Western versions show that the translators did not understand this reference. It is true that Oliver of Paderborn refers to him as a king of the Christian Nubians, but this is probably an addition made to his text after he had become better informed about African Christianity, otherwise it would have been incorporated in the translation sent to the pope. The Arabic prophecy was clearly a contemporary production or at best the adaptation of a late twelfth-century work made by eastern Christians who wished to attract the patronage of the crusade leaders. Western ignorance of African Christianity meant that the crusade leaders and the authors of the prophecy were at cross-purposes. Nevertheless, the leaders accepted it as genuine and it fuelled the apocalyptic atmosphere among them, because the crusade appeared to be fulfilling a prophecy.

By contrast, the rest of the year 1220 was an anticlimax. The crusaders held Damietta, but made little new progress. This changed in the spring of 1221. On 18 April, Jacques de Vitry wrote to Honorius III about dramatic new developments, also sending copies of his letter to Duke Leopold of Austria, the chancellor, masters and scholars of the University of Paris, and his friend Abbot Walter of Oignies. First, the Syrians in Damietta, and this word probably means Copts in this context, had shown the crusade leaders 'another very ancient book written in Arabic, entitled, *The Revelations of St. Peter the Apostle, set down in a book by his disciple Clement*'. St Clement, who lived c. 100 AD and was traditionally regarded as the third successor to St Peter as Bishop of Rome, was a respected figure in the Western Church. A considerable body of writings was attributed to him, most though not all of which modern scholars consider were written much later.[38] The 'Book of Clement' described by Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn was another apocryphal writing, an Apocalypse attributed to St Peter. Pelliot has drawn attention to two manuscripts of this text, an Arabic version of c. 1300 in the Vatican Library and an Ethiopian version, but these are not the same version as the text which Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn describe.[39] That Arabic version of the text has never been found, and nor has the Latin translation of it which the Frankish clergy commissioned. All that is known about it are the general descriptions which Jacques and Oliver give, from which it may be inferred that this ancient text had been updated by the Copts of Damietta with prophecies relevant to the crusade. Jacques says that it foretold that after the fall of Damietta to the crusade, the Christian army would be aided by two kings, one from

the regions of the West and the other from the regions of the East. They would meet in an attack on Muslim-held Jerusalem which they would restore to Christian rule, and then the Antichrist would come, and this would be followed by the Last Judgment and the End of the World.[40] Oliver of Paderborn's description agrees with this, but he adds one significant detail: that the two kings will come to Jerusalem 'in that year when Easter will be on the third of April'.[41] This date has no religious significance; its importance lies in the fact that Easter would fall on 3 April in 1222 and not again for another ten years. In other words, from the point of view of Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn, reading this text in 1221, the events which would usher in the End of the World would begin in the following year. Jacques de Vitry told the pope that he had assembled the entire army on the sands outside Damietta and had shown them the Arabic copy of the Book of Clement and had preached to them about the prophecies which it contained.[42]

Yet although Jacques had considered the Book of Clement extremely important when it was first shown to him, by the time he wrote to Honorius III on 18 April, it had taken second place to still more important news, and Jacques gives the information about the Book of Clement almost as a postscript to his letter. For soon after the discovery of the Book of Clement, he had received a message from Prince Bohemond IV of Antioch/Tripoli, who sent him three short works, written in Arabic, the first of which had been brought to him by his agents in Muslim territory, and the second and third by spice merchants from 'the regions of the east'. Jacques had a Latin translation made of these texts and included an abbreviated copy of two of them in the letter which he sent to the pope and to his friends in the West. He entitled the documents: 'Excerpts from the History of the Deeds of David, King of the Indies, who is commonly known as Prester John.' The legate Pelagius also sent a copy of these translated texts to Pope Honorius, which included a third brief source that Jacques had not incorporated in his letter.[43] Zarncke, who edited these texts using the various copies which survive in Western archives, described them as *The History of the Deeds of David King of the Indies*, *The Second Charter* and *The Third Charter*. These texts are known only in Western translations: the Arabic versions have never been found. The first of them, the *History*, begins with a narrative account of King David's family and early life. He is said to be a Christian and 'the son of King Israel, the son of King Sarchisus, the son of King John, the son of King Bulgaboga' ('filii regis Israel, filii regis Sarchisi, filii regis

Iohannis, filii de Bulgaboga'), but nowhere in any of the three texts is an attempt made to identify him with Prester John.

Jean Richard has shown that these sources all relate to the life and conquests of Ghenghiz Khan in central Asia and Persia, and are, indeed, the earliest evidence for the Mongol campaigns there.[44] The identification of King David with Prester John was an inference made by the senior clergy on the crusade. It is an understandable deduction: King David is said to be a Christian, he has a great-grandfather called John and his armies are attacking the Islamic Empire in the same area as Prester John's forces were said to have done 80 years earlier by Bishop Hugh of Jabala. Nevertheless, one passage in the *History* should have given the crusader clergy cause to reflect. After giving a list of King David's conquests, the narrator states: 'The advance guard of his army had entered the land of the Georgians, whom they had defeated, and had captured forty of their castles, because although they were Christian they had allied with the Saracens.'[45] This was true and recent news. In the winter of 1220–21 a contingent of Ghenghiz Khan's army entered the Caucasus, defeated the Georgian army and caused great damage to eastern Georgia, before withdrawing to join up with the main Mongol army by way of the south Russian steppes.[46] There is no evidence that the Georgians were allies of the Muslims, but the presence of the Mongol armies in Western Asia was the reason why King George IV of Georgia had been unable to fulfil his promise to the leaders of the crusade and launch an attack on the Ayyubid Empire from the north. Pelagius, Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn seem to have ignored this information in the *History*, which should have made them question whether King David was the benign Christian ruler whom they supposed him to be. But there was another reason for their confidence in supposing that King David was the new Prester John.

At the end of his translation of a report of King David, Jacques de Vitry adds:

> All those who come from those parts [of the East] report the same thing. Indeed, certain men in our army who were captured by the Sultan of Egypt were sent by him to his brother Conradin [al-Muazzam] at Damascus. Conradin sent them to his lord, the Caliph of Baghdad, and he sent the captives to King David as a great gift. [King David] after he learned that they were Christians, released them from captivity and ordered them to be taken back to Antioch. They told us about the news [given in the report] and many other things about King David.[47]

This strange story is corroborated by Oliver of Paderborn.[48] There is

nothing surprising in the fact that al-Kāmil should have sent Frankish prisoners to his brother at Damascus as his share in the spoils of war. It is possible that al-Muazzam sent them to the Caliph as evidence that the Ayyubids were involved in a serious war against the Franks in Egypt and were unable to send troops to help defend his territories against the Mongol threat. When envoys from Ghenghiz Khan came to Baghdad, the Caliph might then have sent these exotic prisoners to him as evidence that his vassals were powerful enough to defeat a great Western army, and that his own military strength should not be underestimated. If this was the Caliph's intention, it misfired, for Ghenghiz Khan, realizing that these men were part of a force which was fighting the Muslim powers just as he was, sent them to Antioch under safe conduct as a goodwill gesture, and Prince Bohemond sent them to Damietta together with his envoys bringing the written reports about King David.

To the legate and the senior clergy, the presumed news about Prester John seemed to be corroborating the prophecy in the Book of Clement. The king from the East was going to fulfil his great-grandfather's ambition to make the Jerusalem pilgrimage and was marching towards the Holy Land. Meanwhile, the king from the West, Frederick II, had been crowned Emperor in Rome by Honorius III in November 1220 and had gone to Sicily declaring his intention of fulfilling his crusade vow.[49] In May 1221 Duke Louis of Bavaria arrived in Damietta as the emperor's representative, signalling Frederick's serious intention of joining the crusade.[50]

Jacques de Vitry informed the pope with confidence:

> King David has three armies: one he has sent into the lands of Calaph, the brother of the Sultan of Egypt [this refers, I think, to al-Ashraf]; another he has sent to attack Baghdad; and the third he has sent to Mosul, which was formerly called Niniveh and which is only fifteen days' distance from Antioch. He is hastening to come to the Promised Land to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord and to rebuild the Holy City. But before that he is intending, if God is willing, to bring under Christian rule the land of the Sultan of Iconium, and Aleppo and Damascus and all the regions which are between them, so that no enemy shall remain in the rear of his advance.[51]

Indeed, the prophecy in the Book of Clement that a king will come from the West and another from the East and that they will meet in Jerusalem seemed about to be fulfilled. But if Oliver of Paderborn's report about the Book of Clement is correct, the timetable was very tight. Their meeting would take place in a year when Easter fell on 3 April and that was less than a year away. It is true that Easter would

fall on that day in 1233 and again in 1244, but no commander could hold a crusade together for so long. The consequence of this concern was the disastrous march on Cairo that led to the total defeat of the crusading army. In one way the failure of the Fifth Crusade may be directly attributed to belief in the existence of Prester John, though arguably the specific date for the Christian victory over Islam contained in the Book of Clement was even more important.

Although Prester John did not come to the aid of the Fifth Crusade, belief in his existence persisted. It became clear from the reports of the envoys sent by Pope Innocent IV in 1245 to the Great Khan that the Mongol Empire was not the Empire of Prester John.[52] Yet this did not lead to the abandonment of belief in the existence of Prester John in Western Europe; his legend had too firm a hold on the Western imagination and, in any case, represented a deep-seated wish fulfilment that although the Muslim world was very powerful, there was a great Christian Empire existing beyond its frontiers. By the fourteenth century, learned opinion identified Prester John with the Emperor of Ethiopia, ironically the powerful Christian ruler named in the prophecy of Hannan son of Agap, a reference which the Fifth Crusade leaders and, indeed, thirteenth-century Western opinion in general had failed to comprehend. Yet soon after the Portuguese, having circumnavigated Africa, finally reached his kingdom in the sixteenth century, the real Prester John proved to be in need of Western aid against his powerful Muslim neighbours in the Horn of Africa.[53]

Notes

1Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York, 2011).

2Rev. 12:3. Unless otherwise specified, biblical references are to the King James Bible of 1611. Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi*, ed. W. Stubbs, (published as *The Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough*) Rolls Series (henceforth RS) 49, 2 vols (London, 1867), vol. 2, p. 151. The heads of the beast were those of King Herod, the Emperor Nero, the Emperor Constantius (who patronised the Arian heresy), the Prophet Muhammad, Melsemutus (Sultan of Morocco), Saladin and Antichrist, See Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The 'Figurae' of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 86–88.

3Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1992); R. K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1981).

4This was an over-literal interpretation of the text: 'This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.' Acts 1:11.

5‘Exinde campus existit, in quo plurime lapidum congeries posite sunt, quos simplices peregrini illic ideo congessisse se gaudent, quia in die iudicii in hiis sedibus se sessuros autumant.’ Theodoricus, ch. 32, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, *Peregrinationes Tres*, *CCCM* 139 (Turnhout, 1994), p. 179.

6This belief is first attested in the Apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius: Paul Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 22; Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York, 1979), pp. 70–76. It was held in the twelfth century by Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, in *RHC Occ.*, vol. 4 (Paris 1879), pp. 138–39.

7The first mention of the Emperor of the Last Days in a Western source dates from 954: Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Libellus de Antichristo*, ed. D. Verhelst, *Adso Dervensis de ortu et tempore Antichristi*, *CCCM*, vol. 45 (Turnhout, 1976); the Latin text of *The Play of Antichrist* is in Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1962), pp. 371–87; the English translation is John Wright, *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto, 1967), which also contains an English translation of Adso’s Essay on Antichrist at pp. 100–10.

8Matt. 24:36.

9Einar Joranson, ‘The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–5’, in *The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, ed.* Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 3–41; Abbo of Fleury, *Apologeticus*, in Jacques-Paul Migne, *PL*, vol. 139, cols 471–72.

10The anonymous work published as Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana abbreviata*, Bk. III, in Bongars, pp. 1125–29.

11 *Histoire des Conciles*, ed. C. J. Hefèle with French trans. by H. Leclercq, 11 vols, vol. 5, pt. 2 (Paris, 1913), p. 1318; Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum Codicis Iuris Canonici Orientalis (henceforth CICO), *Fontes*, ser. 3, II, *Acta Innocentii papae III (1198–1216)*, ed. T. Haluščynskyj (Vatican City, 1944), nos 128, 181, pp. 363–5, 410–11.

12Innocent III, *Regesta*, ann. XIV, no. lxviii, in *PL*, vol. 216, col. 434.

13*Anatomy*, pp. 26–27.

14‘Credo autem quod Christiani habitantes inter Sarracenos plures sunt numero quam Sarraceni. Multi autem reges Christiani habitantes in partibus Orientis usque in terram presbiteri Iohannis, audientes adventum crucesignatorum, ut eis veniant in auxilium movent guerram cum Sarracenis.’ *Lettres* (trans.), II, p. 576.

15‘Iohannes quidam, qui ultra Persidem et Armeniam in extremo oriente habitans rex et sacerdos cum gente sua Christianus est, sed Nestorianus.’ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, Bk. VII, ch. 33, ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH SS* (Hanover, 1912), pp. 365–66.

16Abu l-Fida *Annals*, A.H. 536, extracts ed. with French trans. M. Reinaud, *RHC Or.*, vol. I (Paris, 1872), p. 25; Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 41–47.

17Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East* (London, 2006), pp. 1–135.

18Ibid., pp. 169–93, 235–36.

19Bernard Hamilton, ‘The Lands of Prester John: Western Knowledge of Asia and Africa at the Time of the Crusades’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 15 (2004), pp. 127–41.

20John 24:23.

212 John 1; 3 John 1; A. A. Vasiliev, ‘Prester John, Legend and History’, p. 114. This is an unpublished manuscript in the Dumbarton Oaks Library, Washington DC, cited with the permission of the Trustees.

22‘In tribus Indiis dominatur magnificentia nostra, et transit terra nostra ab ulteriore India, in qua corpus sancti Thomae apostoli requiescit, per desertum et progreditur ad solis ortum, et redit per declivum in Babilonem desertam iuxta turrim Babel.’ (p. 910), in ‘Der Brief des Priesters Johannes an den byzantinischen Kaiser Emanuel’, ed. Friedrich Zarncke, *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. 7, *Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. 17 (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 873–934.

23David Wasserstein, ‘Eldad ha-Dani and Prester John’, in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 213–37.

24V. Langlois, ‘Les merveilles du Prêtre Jean’, in *La vie en France au moyen âge*, vol. 3, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde d’après des écrits français à l’usage des laïcs* (Paris, 1927), pp. 44–70.

25Thietmar, *Pilgrimage*, 1217–18, ch. 24, trans. Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Farnham, 2012), p. 130; ‘quandam terram ultra Egyptum cuius incole vocantur yssini que tota christiana est … Horum fides est quod in brevi in tanta multitudine debeant venire in Babylonem ut singuli singulos lapides tollant ut non remaneat lapis in Babylone. Et isti christiani semper impugnant egyptios et sarracenos ubicunque possunt’. Magister Thetmarus, *Iter ad Terram Sanctam*, in S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)*, 4 vols (Jerusalem, 1978–84), vol. 3, p. 288.

26Paul Pelliot, ‘Deux passages de la “*Prophétie de Hannan, fils d’Isaac*”’, in *Mélanges sur l époque des croisades*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris, 1951), p. 129.

27‘Eodem tempore [in c. 328] ulterior India … verbi Dei semina accepit.’ Otto of Freising, Bk. IV, ch. 5, ed. Hofmeister, p. 192.

28David W. Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation: Aksum and the Northern Horn 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1300* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 91–106, 209–43; Bernard Hamilton, *The Christian World of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2003), pp. 152–65.

29W. Y. Adams, *Nubia* (London, 1977), pp. 459–71; D. A. Welby, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia* (London, 2002).

30D. W. Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 21–27, 51–198.

31J. Perruchon, ‘Notes sur l’histoire d’Éthiopie. Extrait de la vie d’Abba Jean, patriarche d’Alexandrie, relatif à l’Abyssinie (texte arabe et traduction)’, *Revue Sémitique*, 7 (1899), pp. 81–82.

32E. van Donzel, ‘Were There Ethiopians in Jerusalem at the Time of Saladin’s Conquest in 1187?’, in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations II*, ed. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule (Leuven, 1999), pp. 125–30.

33‘Item in Egypto psitaci abundant, qui veniunt de Nubia. Distat autem Nubia a Babylonia per viginti dietas, et est terra Christiana, habens regem, sed populus eius incultus est et terra silvestris.’ Arnoldi Abbatis Lubecensis, *Chronica*, ed. I. M. Lappenberg, *MGH SS* XXI (Hanover, 1869), p. 238. This passage was based on the report of Burchard of Strasbourg sent as ambassador by Frederick I to Saladin in 1175.

34A copy of Philip’s letter was sent by Gregory IX’s penitentiary to the Dominican Priors of England: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 57 (I–VII) (London, 1872–83), vol. 3, pp. 396–98.

35Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, in Hoogeweg, pp. 232–33.

36*Prophetiae Cuiusdam Arabicae in Latinorum castris ante Damiatam vulgatae*, *QB*, pp.

xli–xlviii, 205–89, at p. 210; P. Pelliot, *Deux passages de 'La Prophétie de Hanan, fils d'Isaac', Mélanges sur l'époque des Croisades, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1951), pp. 73–97.

37Quran, Sura CV; Hamilton, *Christian World*, p. 154.

38J. Irmscher and G. Strecker, 'The Pseudo-Clementines', in *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2, *Writings Relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses and Related Subjects*, revised edition of the collection initiated by E. Hennecke, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, English translation ed. R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 483–541.

39Pelliot, 'Deux passages', pp. 135–36.

40*Lettres*, VII, pp. 647–48.

41'Additur preterea de duobus regibus, quorum unus asseritur venturus ab Oriente, alius ab Occidente Jerosolimam in illo anno, quo pascha erit tertio die Aprilis.': Hoogeweg, p. 259.

42*Lettres*, VII, p. 648.

43'Excerpta de historia gestorum David regis Indorum, qui presbiter Iohannes a vulgo appellatur': ibid., pp. 634–44; all three texts are edited by Zarncke, 'Der Priester Johannes', pp. 45–59; see n. 22 above.

44J. Richard, 'The *Relatio de Davide* as a Source for Mongol History and the Legend of Prester John', in *Prester John*, ed. Beckingham and Hamilton, pp. 139–58.

45'Caput exercitus pervenerat in terram Geogianorum, quod devicit et abstulit eis XL castra, quia cum essent Christiani, confederati erant cum Sarracenis.': *Lettres*, VII, p. 641.

46Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221–1410* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 38–39.

47'Quotquot autem de partibus illis [orientis] idem dicunt. De exercitu etiam nostro quidam a soldano Egypti capti fuerunt, quos fratri suo Coradino misit Damascum; Coradinus misit eos domino suo caliphe Baldicensi, ille autem regi David pro magno munere predictos captivos transmisit. Qui postquam eos Christianos esse cognovit, a vinculis absolutos usque Antiochiam reduci precepit, qui predictos rumores et alia quam plurima de rege David nobis retulerunt.': *Lettres*, VII, pp. 644–45.

48Oliver of Paderborn reports: 'De exercitu etiam nostro quidam a soldano Egypti capti fuerunt, quos fratri suo caliphe Baldicensi, ille autem regi David pro magno munere predictos captivos transmisit. Qui postquam eos Christianos esse cognovit, a vinculis absolutos usque Antiochiam reduci precepit, qui predictos rumores et alia quam plurima de rege David nobis retulerunt.': Hoogeweg, p. 259.

49Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 132–38, 146–48.

50Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 184–85.

51'Habet autem rex David tres exercitus, quorum unum misit in terram Calaph fratris soldani Egypti, alium misit in Baldach, tertium misit versus Mausum, que prisco nomine Ninive nuncupatur, etiam non distat ab Antiochia nisi per XV dietas, festinans venire ad terram promissionis ut visitet Sepulchrum Domini et reedificet civitatem sanctam. Prius tamen proposuit domino concedente subiugare nomini christiano terram soldani Iconiensis et Alapiam et Damscum et omnes regiones interiacentes, ut nec unam post se relinquat adversarium.': *Lettres*, VII, p. 644.

52Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 138–64.

53Bernard Hamilton, 'Continental Drift: Pester John's Progress through the Indies', in *Prester John*, ed. Beckingham and Hamilton, pp. 247–57.

6The Fifth Crusade and the conversion of the Muslims[1]

Barbara Bombi

Historians overall agree that a new attitude towards the conversion of the Muslims to Christianity began in the first two decades of thirteenth century and coincided with the Fifth Crusade to Egypt (1218–21). However, the historiography has given different reasons to explain why the Fifth Crusade marked a turning point for the development of Muslim–Christian relations.

Some historians have argued that missionary activities were initiated as an alternative to and as criticisms of crusading. In particular, Benjamin Kedar maintained that the new approach towards non-Christians arose in the mid-twelfth century, when Bernard of Clairvaux preached a crusade to convert the Wends in Northern Europe (1145–47), while Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, had the Quran translated and wrote a treaty on the errors of the Saracens in order to start a dialogue with the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula (1143–44). However, in Kedar's opinion, as far as the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem is concerned, we only have scattered evidence of conversion of Muslims to Christianity, and this was far from being a mass phenomenon before the thirteenth century.[2] Kedar further argued that the attempts at the conversion of the Muslims in the Holy Land went hand in glove with the criticism of crusading, which arose as a consequence of the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, especially within intellectual circles in the Anglo-French world.[3] Between the late twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries, preaching to non-Christians was therefore broadly promoted together with the crusade. In particular, Joachim of Fiore foresaw the preaching of the Gospel of Christ to all pagan nations, while Jacques de Vitry and Francis of Assisi 'pioneered' the mission to the Muslims during the Fifth Crusade, following the teaching of the Gospel of Mark (16:15–16): 'Go and preach the Gospel to every creature.' Finally, in Kedar's opinion, during the second decade of the thirteenth century, crusade and mission converged in Oliver of Cologne's call for al-Kāmil's conversion after the failure of the Fifth Crusade in 1221.[4]

On the contrary, other historians maintained that the convergence of mission and crusade was the result of the Apostolic See's efforts to strengthen its control over crusade preaching and that this ought to be related to the papacy's attempt to extend its authority over the Eastern Christians in the early thirteenth century. This agenda arguably led to the increasing use of crusading as a means to subject and eventually convert non-Christian populations. Jean Richard particularly emphasized that the crusaders never seriously undertook the conversion of Muslims before the Fifth Crusade, when both Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Cologne preached crusade as well as mission and conversion of the Muslims on behalf of the papacy, while Francis of Assisi saw the crusade as a window of opportunity to carry out his peaceful mission in the East.[5]

In a similar fashion, legal historians have agreed that the decade following the failure of Fifth Crusade marked a clear shift in the legal literature concerning the conversion of non-Christians. Since the mid-twelfth century, canon law had in fact widely accepted that the crusade could not be used to convert the infidels, while the use of forced conversions had been authorized only in the case of relapsed converts, since force could not be used in lands outside ecclesiastical jurisdiction. On the contrary, from the 1230s onwards, while reiterating the principle borrowed from Roman law that faith had to be spread through persuasion rather than force, the decretalists adopted a looser understanding of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and allowed the imposition of temporal and spiritual penalties on non-Christians who violated the canons. In this respect, both Mario Condorelli and James Muldoon have emphasized that the crusades and the Latin conquests in the East prompted this change of mind. In addition, the papacy supported it through the development of hierocratic doctrines.[6] As Muldoon put it, 'the crusades had changed the relations between Christians and their neighbours', and it was only from the 1240s that Christian control over infidels was once more associated with the issue of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[7]

Finally, it has been suggested that in the early thirteenth century, peaceful preaching in Muslim lands resonated with the rise of apostolic religious movements, such as the Franciscans and the Dominicans. In particular, both Penny Cole and Christoph Maier established a link between papal control over crusade preaching and Christian missionary efforts in the early thirteenth century.[8] In Maier's opinion, the missions to non-Christians especially benefited from the personal contribution of Francis of Assisi and Dominic, who had been

inspired by the ideals of the apostolic life. Nevertheless, Maier rejected the view that Francis and Dominic ought to be considered as champions of the 'anti-crusade movement' and, indeed, he argued that Francis's objectives were the same as those of the crusaders, namely the recovery of the holy places and total submission of the Muslims by means of their conversion. More recently, Hoose emphasized that although they made use of different methods, both Francis and the crusaders set off to confront the Muslims in order to achieve their submission and eventually their conversion.[9] On the contrary, while placing Francis's missionary activity in the East within the milieu of the evangelical awakening of the late twelfth century, Powell, Hoeberichts and Annala maintained that Francis represented an alternative to crusading.[10] Likewise, Chiara Frugoni highlighted that, in defiance of the papal crusading propaganda, Francis and his early biographers followed an anti-militaristic, penitential and missionary approach towards the conversion of non-Christians. Furthermore, Frugoni argued that, unlike his biographers, Francis never described in his writings the missionary activity in Muslim territories as martyrdom.[11] Conversely, Daniel, Ryan, MacEvitt and Vauchez underlined that Francis's peaceful mission to the East has to be read in the light of his desire for martyrdom, which characterized the call for apostolic life as well as the eschatological missionary ideology followed by the Mendicant Orders during the thirteenth century.[12]

Arguably, these historiographical interpretations are all based on the examination of the surviving evidence concerning three key individuals who either preached or took part in the Fifth Crusade, namely Jacques de Vitry, Oliver of Cologne and Francis of Assisi. Yet, it is difficult to assess the popularity of new attitudes towards non-Christians outside of these illustrious and extraordinary individuals – to some extent, the only exception to this statement is the evidence provided by the legal texts and commentaries briefly mentioned above. Indeed, while it is possible to draw connections between these personalities and the Church reform that led to the rise of the so-called evangelical awakening, it ought to be stressed that on closer examination, these three individuals should be placed in very different contexts. Francis of Assisi was in fact a layman who wished to preach penance and the Gospel, while both Oliver of Cologne and Jacques de Vitry came from the ranks of the secular clergy and had been engaged in preaching the crusade on behalf of the Apostolic See.

In more general terms, it could be argued that the approach of these three personalities to the conversion of non-Christians reflected

tensions within the Church during the early thirteenth century, especially between those who undertook the apostolic life and pastoral care following a spontaneous calling and those who approached the reform of Church from an intellectual perspective. As is well known, the new spirituality that spread in the West from the mid-twelfth century had at its core preaching, poverty and the apostolic life. As Grundmann and Bolton put it, from the late twelfth century, the papacy, which initially opposed the dissemination of these new ideas among the laity, undertook a lengthy process to institutionalize lay apostolic movements and religious orders and to promote the reform of the clergy administering pastoral care. During his pontificate, Innocent III was especially concerned with such issues and dealt with the reform of pastoral care as well as with crusading and conversion of non-Christians.[13] Innocent's approach to non-Christians was nevertheless very far from the spontaneous and unlearned call for the apostolic life that had influenced the crusading movement from the time of the First Crusade and was embodied in Francis's mission to the East during the Fifth Crusade.[14]

Arguably, at the time of the crusade in Damietta, these learned and unlearned traditions did still coexist. Indeed, as noted above, the historiography has so far raised this issue, mainly comparing Jacques de Vitry and Francis of Assisi's approaches to the conversion of non-Christians during the Fifth Crusade.[15] However, as Chiara Frugoni has recently put it, the reconstruction of Francis's mission to Damietta is challenged by the lack of first-hand evidence as well as the rewriting of Francis's life within the Franciscan hagiographical tradition. In this chapter I shall therefore make use of the evidence provided by Jacques de Vitry as the most important and earlier non-Franciscan source accounting for Francis's mission in the East, and I will instead compare the attitudes towards non-Christians of Francis of Assisi and Oliver of Cologne, who undoubtedly embody the two different traditions of Church reform in the early thirteenth century.

Francis of Assisi and the conversion of non-Christians in the pre-1228 accounts

To a great extent, the reconstruction of Francis's mission to Damietta and his preaching before al-Kāmil ought to be framed within the historiographical milieu of the so-called 'Franciscan question', namely the search for the primary sources that allow us to assess Francis of

Assisi's true purposes and intentions.[16] Francis never wrote an account of his journey to Egypt, nor did he explicitly mention it in his writings, while the hagiographical sources give very diverse and revised reports of Francis's mission in the East. In particular, as Tolan and Frugoni have recently argued, a revisionist approach to Francis's mission in the East was initially put forward in the *Vita Prima* of Thomas of Celano (1228–29), where the hagiographer underlined Francis's desire for martyrdom, his preaching by example and his knightly background, voicing, in Chiara Frugoni's words, the official crusading propaganda of the papacy which had ultimately commissioned Celano's work.[17] According to Thomas of Celano, Francis tried to go to the Holy Land twice, in 1212–13, when he was shipwrecked and had to come back home, and in September 1219, when he reached Damietta, burning with the desire for martyrdom and with the intent of preaching the Gospel and penance to the Saracens and other infidels.[18] Celano further describes the meeting between Francis and the Sultan al-Kāmil, who was moved by the Franciscan example of spiritual strength, desire for martyrdom and apostolic poverty.[19]

Arguably, from the 1230s, Celano's account was repeatedly revised in later Franciscan legends.[20] This was the case for Henry of Avranches in the *Legenda versificata sancti Francisci* (1232–39),[21] Julian of Spire in the *Officium Rhythmicum sancti Francisci*, Thomas of Celano in the *Memoriale in desiderio animae*[22] and Bonaventure's *Legenda maior*, which famously introduced the story of Francis undergoing the ordeal of fire to show al-Kāmil the strength of his faith.[23] Remarkably, the account of Francis's journey to the East is omitted in the legends that the Minister-General Crescenzio of Iesi gathered on the occasion of the general chapter of Genoa in 1244, with the exception of a brief mention in the *Legenda ad usum chori*, as Chiara Frugoni has recently observed.[24]

However, if we separate the sources dealing with Francis's journey to Damietta into Franciscan and non-Franciscan along the lines suggested by Raul Manselli, we interestingly notice that the latter are chronologically the earliest to recount Francis's journey to the Holy Land.[25] Indeed, the non-Franciscan sources represent the accounts that to some extent escaped the influence of Thomas of Celano's *Vita Prima*, namely the official propaganda of the saint's life that was promoted after his canonization in 1228 and ultimately branded his journey to the East as a search for martyrdom.[26] This chapter will therefore focus on the non-Franciscan sources in order to attempt a

reconstruction of Francis's personal attitude towards non-Christians, and it will compare them with his writings, which deal with the friars' preaching and conversion of the infidels. The latter are the *Regula non bullata*, the *Regula bullata* and the so-called *Passio sanctorum martyrum in Marochio*, which was probably already quite popular during Francis's life. I shall therefore limit myself to the examination of the early tradition concerning Francis's journey to the East and I shall draw a clear cut-off point in 1228, when Francis was canonized.

Usually, the historiography has listed among the non-Franciscan sources dating before 1228: the Arab inscription found on the tomb of Fakhir ad-Din al-Farisí, who died in 1219, which evidences Francis's ultimate presence at Damietta;[27] letter VI and the *Historia Occidentalis* of Jacques de Vitry, respectively dating from 1220 and from c. 1221–23; the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier*, which have been traditionally dated to c. 1227–30; and the *Old French Continuations of William of Tyre* or *Eracles*, conventionally dated to c. 1229.[28] However, Peter Edbury has recently focused on the study of the manuscript tradition and critical edition of the French crusading sources listed above, convincingly dating these French crusading accounts after 1228. Initially, in an article published in 2007, Edbury reassessed the manuscript tradition of the *Old French Continuations of William of Tyre* or *Eracles* and argued that the published recension of this work was probably only compiled in the 1240s and was closely related to another French text covering similar material known as the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier*.[29] Furthermore, in another article published in 2010, Edbury focused on the eight medieval manuscripts of the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* and demonstrated that the editions of these works have confused the manuscript tradition.[30] Edbury identified three recensions of this chronicle, postponing the date of its compilation to the early 1230s. Most interestingly, he maintained that the first recension of the work, which accounts for the events in the Latin East up to 1227 and which Edbury names after Ernoul, the squire of Balian of Ibelin, completely omitted the story of Francis's meeting with al-Kāmil.[31] On the contrary, the other two recensions of the work do include the meeting of Francis and the sultan, but, as Edbury points out, they cover the period up to 1231 and they were probably compiled no earlier than this date.[32]

Arguably, Edbury's findings lead us to reassess the significance of the French crusading sources as far as Francis's mission is concerned, since Edbury's dating of these sources considerably reduces the list of

available non-Franciscan sources accounting for Francis's journey in the East before the saint's canonization. In contrast to what was previously thought, all the French crusading works accounting for the saint's journey to the East would have in fact been written after the canonization of Francis in 1228 and the compilation of Celano's *Vita Prima*, possibly by someone associated with John of Brienne, who was, in Celano's account, also present at Francis's canonization.[33] Indeed, the comparison between the *Vita Prima* and the post-1228 recensions of the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* shows that the core of the accounts provided by these two sources is quite similar. Both sources in fact hint at the hostility of al-Kāmil's entourage against Francis and his companion and at the tolerant attitude of the sultan. Accordingly, they emphasize Francis's refusal of al-Kāmil's expensive gifts.[34] Most significantly, both Celano and the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* maintain that the Christian–Muslim dialogue focused on the validity of the law, namely the Christian law, which Francis endorsed and defended from Muslim verbal abuse, and the Muslim law, bolstered by al-Kāmil's advisers and challenged by the friars.[35] However, the two sources disagree on the role of Pelagius, the papal legate on the crusade. According to the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier*, Cardinal Pelagius, who is not mentioned in the *Vita Prima*, would have indeed refused to endorse Francis's mission, wary of the fact that the two friars could be killed or mistaken by the Saracens as crusading messengers sent to negotiate a truce.[36] As Tolan, Vauchez and Frugoni put it, this account of the French chronicle seems to fit in nicely with the agenda of John of Brienne, who possibly endorsed the compilation of the chronicle and who, unlike Pelagius, was favourable to a truce with al-Kāmil that would have assured the restitution of Jerusalem into Christian hands.[37] All in all, the evidence seems to suggest that, as far as the meeting between Francis and al-Kāmil is concerned, the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* borrowed from Celano and his work do not represent a completely independent tradition as previously thought. Indeed, their dating, their similarities with Celano's account and their origin in John of Brienne's circle support the idea that the authors of the *Chronicles* were acquainted with and reworked to their advantage the official legend of Francis of Assisi, which quickly spread from the early 1230s thanks to Celano's work.[38] The latter argument is also supported by Edbury's recent discovery that focuses on the lack of any mention of Francis's journey to the East in the earliest surviving recension of the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier*, which, as

mentioned above, recounts events in the East only up to 1227 and probably dates from the late 1220s or the early 1230s.[39]

Accordingly, we should reconsider the textual analogies between the other French crusading source traditionally named as the *Old French Continuations of William of Tyre* or *Eracles*, which was compiled in Edbury's opinion in the 1240s, Celano's *Vita Prima* and the other pre-1228 non-Franciscan sources, especially the ones written by Jacques de Vitry.[40] The *Eracles* reports a shorter version of the story concerning Francis's journey to Damietta, where the saint remained until the town was conquered. Unsurprisingly, this source, dating from the 1240s, acknowledged Francis's canonization. However, the account of the saint's journey to Damietta is undoubtedly independent from Celano's *Vita*.[41] By contrast, the *Eracles* mainly highlight the saint's good deeds and his disappointment with the growing sinful behaviour in the crusading army that drove Francis to leave Damietta for Syria.[42] Interestingly, the passage of the *Eracles* concerning Francis is followed by an extensive description of the crusading army's lust and corruption after the capture of Damietta, on which both Tolan and Frugoni focused in order to emphasize the similarities between the *Eracles* and other contemporary crusading chronicles, such as the *Historia Damiatina* of Oliver of Cologne that similarly denounced the corruption and inaction of the crusading army in Damietta in order to justify the Christian defeat.[43] Indeed, what seems remarkable are the similarities between the *Eracles* and the *Historia Occidentalis* of Jacques de Vitry, who claimed that he witnessed Francis's stay in Damietta and probably wrote his account between 1221 and 1223.[44] Yet, a close textual comparison between the opening of the two texts suggests that the compiler of the *Eracles* paraphrased in French and updated the account provided by Jacques de Vitry, adding information regarding Francis's canonization and replacing the passage concerning the meeting between Francis and al-Kāmil, which is reported by Jacques de Vitry, with the harsh criticism of the crusading army.[45] Undoubtedly, the sinful behaviour of the crusaders is at the core of the *Eracles* account, while the episode concerning Francis's stay in Damietta and his peaceful preaching among the crusaders, probably borrowed from Jacques de Vitry's *Historia*, is arguably used here to provide a positive example in sharp contrast with the crusaders and their behaviour.

On the whole, if my analysis is correct, as far as Francis's journey to the East is concerned, the originality of both the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* and the *Eracles* is therefore undermined by

their textual borrowings from earlier Franciscan and non-Franciscan sources. Furthermore, I would maintain that these sources made use of Francis's journey to Damietta to pursue specific agendas, namely employing Francis and his peaceful preaching towards the Muslims as an alternative to crusading and its shortcomings.

This argument leaves us with Jacques de Vitry as the principal and earliest non-Franciscan eye-witness of Francis's journey to the East. Jacques de Vitry is generally considered a reliable source, since he was acquainted with the Franciscan brethren in Italy as early as 1216, and he preached and later participated in the Fifth Crusade after his appointment as bishop of Acre.[46] Jacques provided two accounts of Francis's journey to Damietta. The first is recorded in his sixth letter sent from Damietta to the West in early 1220, while the second is part of the *Historia Occidentalis*.[47] The manuscript tradition of Jacques's sixth letter is, however, problematic, especially with regard to the passage regarding Francis's journey to Damietta. Interestingly, whereas in the manuscript tradition the version of this letter omitting the section on Francis is addressed to Pope Honorius III, the other two recensions of this letter mentioning Francis are directed to Flanders, namely to the Cistercian monastery of Aywières and to Master Jean de Nivelles, suggesting a local Flemish tradition.[48] In his sixth letter Jacques introduced Francis's journey to the East when commenting on the popularity of the Friars Minor, whose imitation of the apostolic life and the primitive Church was attracting many young and occasionally inexperienced men, who spread the Gospel around the world in pairs.[49] Accordingly, after mentioning Francis's journey to Damietta and his meeting with al-Kāmil, Jacques stressed his concern about Franciscan popularity, listing the names of those clerics in his entourage and in the crusading army who had joined the new order.[50] The omission of such critical remarks concerning the Franciscans in the *Historia Occidentalis* allowed Franciscan historians Golubovich and Roncaglia to raise doubts about the authenticity of this passage.[51] However, Huygens, the editor of Jacques's letters, has pointed out that the recensions of the letter mentioning Francis's journey to the East appear as early as the thirteenth-century manuscript tradition.[52] In Huygens's opinion, this early date therefore makes it difficult for this section of the letter to be an interpolation. On the contrary, Huygens suggested that Jean de Cambrai, Jacques's chaplain, edited the text and addressed diverse recensions of the letter to different recipients.[53] Accordingly, Tolan and Frugoni have deemed this passage of the letter to be authentic. On the one hand, Tolan emphasized the similarities

between Jacques negative remarks against the Franciscans in his letter and his criticism against 'gyrovague' monks in the chapter on the Benedictine Rule of the *Historia Occidentalis*, also noting that Honorius III had instituted the novitiate for the friars in September 1220 to stop complaints about the rapid growth of the new order.[54] On the other hand, Chiara Frugoni has argued that Jacques's negative comments possibly witnessed to the popularity of Francis's preaching at Damietta not only vis-à-vis the Muslims, but also in the crusading camp, showing how the Franciscan peaceful approach to the submission of the Muslims clashed with the crusading military activity.[55]

Arguably, Jacques's criticism against the Franciscans also fits in nicely with the general context of his letter, where he made at least two further references to his own engagement in the baptism of Muslim children after the capture of Damietta.[56] Indeed, in Hoeberichts's words, Jacques 'was and remained a feudal bishop … in … his unwavering commitment to realize the church's policy of power which was directed to the recapture of the Holy Land and the subjection of the Saracens'.[57] In other words, as I argue above, Jacques's criticism of Franciscan popularity could be read as a clash of two different traditions towards the conversion of non-Christians within the early thirteenth-century Church, namely the attitude of those like Francis, who successfully and peacefully preached the Gospel by word and deeds, and those like Jacques, who traditionally used the military submission of non-Christians as a means to baptize them and preach the Gospel.[58]

If we maintain the authenticity of the section of Jacques's letter concerning Francis's journey to Damietta, the examination of its sources and its legacy are worthy of consideration. In this respect, historians have hinted at different possibilities. Dalarun has stressed the substantial independence of Jacques de Vitry's work and Thomas of Celano's *Vita Prima*, while Huygens maintained that Celano seems to have used the wording of this section of letter VI at least on two occasions in his chapter of the *Vita Prima* concerned with Francis's journey to Damietta, implying that the hagiographer may have been familiar with Jacques's text.[59]

Furthermore, I would argue that the similarities between the beginning of the section of the letter regarding Francis's journey to Damietta and the corresponding section of chapter 32 of the *Historia Occidentalis* are remarkable, suggesting that Jacques used the former as a source for the *Historia*, which was probably compiled a few years later, between 1221 and 1223.[60] Both accounts in fact emphasize in

very similar words that Francis, master and founder of the new order, went to Damietta burning with faith and crossed the enemy line, preaching to the Saracens for a number of days.[61] Accordingly, both accounts agree that al-Kāmil asked Francis to pray for him so that God could reveal to him the true faith.[62] All in all, the two accounts noticeably overlap but for two discrepancies. In the *Historia Occidentalis* Jacques added that Francis was captured on his way to the Saracen camp ('in via captum') and that al-Kāmil ordered that the saint be escorted safely back to the Christian camp after a number of days, fearing that his men could join the Christian army, persuaded by Francis's inspiring preaching.[63] Furthermore, we should stress that Jacques placed the episode of Francis's meeting with al-Kāmil within a more general discussion of successful Franciscan preaching before Muslims and non-Christians. At the beginning of this section of the *Historia Occidentalis*, the bishop of Acre in fact stressed that the Muslims liberally accepted the courageous preaching of the friars in their territories, admiring their humility and perfection.[64] Accordingly, at the end of the section, after the account of Francis's meeting with al-Kāmil, Jacques observed that the Muslims were inclined to listen to the friars' preaching of the Christian doctrine and the Gospel until they openly called Mahomet mendacious and evil. In these instances the Muslims were said to have violently expelled the friars from their cities, almost killing them.[65] The latter remark on the need to flee from Muslim towns in case of persecution indeed evidences, as I will argue below, Jacques's acquaintance with the *Regula non bullata*, compiled in 1221, which was probably used as a source for chapter 32 of the *Historia Occidentalis* on the Franciscan Order, as Chiara Frugoni recently noted.

Arguably, it was his knowledge of the *Regula non bullata* and his personal acquaintance with the young order that allowed Jacques de Vitry, unlike other witnesses, to understand in depth the ethos of the Franciscan preaching to non-Christians. His description of Francis's meeting with al-Kāmil is in fact not only the earliest surviving evidence of Francis's journey to the Holy Land, but it also remarkably contextualized the Franciscan preaching to non-Christians within the milieu of humility, poverty and apostolic perfection that represented the commandments of the early thirteenth-century Franciscan brotherhood. Likewise, according to Jacques, preaching the Gospel by word and example was at the core of both Francis's and the friars' missions among the Muslims and crusaders alike. Finally, it should be noted that Jacques's account does not mention martyrdom as the

ultimate aim of the Franciscan mission among the Muslims, which notably arose as a *topos* in the post-1228 hagiographical tradition influenced by Celano's *Vita Prima*.[66]

Indeed, close examination of the pre-1228 Franciscan sources supports this argument. In particular, chapter XVI of the *Regula non bullata* focuses on Franciscan missions among the Saracens and other infidels, which are envisaged, in Chiara Frugoni's words, as part of Franciscan preaching following the evangelical example based on poverty and peace, mentioned in the two preceding chapters.[67] Likewise, chapter XVI opens with a quote of Mt. 10:16–32, inviting the preachers to be humble and vigilant during their mission. The rule further decrees that those brothers, inspired by God to preach among the Muslims, should receive the licence of their superior, who in return should encourage only those suitable (*idonei*) to the mission. The focus here is on the ability of the brothers to establish a dialogue with the infidels either based on example, namely peaceful subjection and witnessing of the Christian faith, or word, that is, the preaching of the Christian doctrine of salvation and eventually baptism. Francis finally prescribed that the brothers should follow in their preaching the guidance of the Gospels of Mt. 10:32 ('Every one therefore that shall confess me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven') and Luke 9:26 ('For he that shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him the Son of man shall be ashamed, when he shall come in his majesty, and that of his Father, and of the holy angels'). Finally, in the last paragraph of chapter XVI, Francis addressed the issue of martyrdom. Here the founder of the Franciscan order encouraged the brothers to witness their faith following Christ's example and accept persecutions, quoting Mt. 5:10: 'Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' However, in case of persecution, the brothers were in the first instance encouraged to flee to other places in accordance with Mt. 10:23, as Jacques de Vitry also emphasized in his *Historia Occidentalis*.[68] Indeed, martyrdom is envisaged only as the extreme outcome of the friars' preaching and Francis's exhortation seems to focus on encouraging the friars not to submit readily to death, but persevere in their mission and aspire to the salvation of souls instead.[69] Unlike Tolan, I would therefore maintain along with Chiara Frugoni that chapter XVI of the *Regula non bullata* does not encourage the friars to undertake missions among non-Christians in search of martyrdom. On the contrary, while mentioning the importance of following the evangelical example, Francis stressed that martyrdom

should be accepted by the friars only in extreme circumstances.[70]

Accordingly, there is no mention of martyrdom as the ordinary outcome of the Franciscan mission among non-Christians in the *Regula bullata* of 1223. The historiography has debated at length the extent to which the *Regula bullata* benefited from Francis's personal contribution or was instead the product of revisions made to the *Regula non bullata* thanks to the expert contribution of a lawyer and possibly Cardinal Hugolino of Ostia, the Order's protector. What is certain is that chapter XII of the *Regula bullata* concerning the Franciscan missions to non-Christians is much shorter than the corresponding chapter XVI of the *Regula non bullata* and does not contain any biblical reference, unlike the earlier rule and in line with what happens with all the other chapters of the later rule. Chapter XII of the *Regula bullata* reiterates the need for the friars to obtain their superior's licence in order to preach among non-Christians, and the recommendation to provincial ministers that they should authorize only those friars who are deemed suitable (*idonei*) to preach among the infidels. Furthermore, chapter XII omits any reference to the performance of the friars' preaching, while it interestingly prescribes that provincial ministers should obey the cardinal protector of the Order appointed by the Apostolic See in order to guarantee compliance with the precepts of poverty and humility and the teachings of the Gospel.[71] Although Tolan has argued that Hugolino probably persuaded Francis to omit any reference to martyrdom in the *Regula bullata* in order to make it acceptable to the Apostolic See, I would agree with Chiara Frugoni, who maintained that in the *Regula bullata* the project of converting non-Christians by word and example had been substantially abandoned, since the friars were no longer allowed to embark on missions spontaneously without their superiors' licence.[72]

Finally, the tension between mission to non-Christians as martyrdom and Francis's personal tenet on this point is evidenced in the disagreement between two later Franciscan sources, namely the so-called *Passio sanctorum martyrum in Marochio* and the *Chronicle* of Jordan of Giano. The *Passio sanctorum martyrum in Marochio*, probably written during Francis's lifetime, only survives in the so-called *Chronica XXIV generalium*, which was written by the Franciscan Arnaldo of Sarrant between 1360 and 1370 and collected a number of earlier texts. Undoubtedly, unlike the other extant Franciscan texts dating before 1228, the *Passio* addressed the theme of martyrdom from the outset, attributing to Francis the decision of sending the

brothers around the world to preach the Gospel, following the precepts of poverty, chastity and obedience, and the imitation of Christ's passion.[73] Interestingly, the *Passio* described the friars' martyrdom as a consequence of their persistence in preaching the Gospel in Muslim lands, their refusal to convert to Islam, and their denial and challenges to the Muslim law. As argued above, Francis later explicitly forbade this kind of behaviour in chapter XVI of the *Regula non bullata*, which was possibly trying to offer solutions to the problems encountered by the early Franciscan missionaries in non-Christian territories, as evidenced in the *Passio*. Likewise, in the *Historia Occidentalis*, Jacques de Vitry had warned against challenging Islamic law and doctrine during missions in Muslim territories. The *Passio*, whose contents were probably already circulating during Francis's lifetime and which was probably known to the first companions of Francis, therefore shows how the theme of mission as martyrdom had already become very popular in the order before Francis's death, foreshadowing Celano's description of Francis's mission to the East. On the contrary, the *Chronicle* of Jordan of Giano, which was written in about 1262 and is generally considered a reliable witness since Jordan personally knew Francis, gives a very different interpretation of the ethos behind the early Franciscan missions to France, Germany and Spain. Along with the *Passio*, Jordan mentioned the mission of five friars to Morocco in 1219, emphasizing that their martyrdom was recorded in a *vita et legenda*, known to Francis and now lost. However, according to Jordan, Francis forbade the friars to read and praise these texts, remarking that nobody should eulogize another person's martyrdom.[74] Indeed, Jordan maintained that Francis himself decided to embark on his journey to the Holy Land to experience the same dangers as the friars sent on missions abroad and moved by his love for Christ's passion, coming back home from his unsuccessful attempt to convert al-Kāmil because of illness and the divisions in the order during his absence.[75]

All in all, the examination of the pre-1228 Franciscan and non-Franciscan sources leads us to sketch a pretty different picture of Francis's journey to the East from what the historiography had previously argued. The new dating of the French crusading chronicles after 1228 and their textual similarities with earlier Franciscan hagiographical sources in fact allow us to place Francis's preaching before al-Kāmil and the crusading army outside the context of criticism of crusading and the search for martyrdom. On the contrary, the remaining sources accounting for Francis's journey to the East,

namely the Franciscan rules and the accounts of Jacques de Vitry, who was personally acquainted with the new order and witnessed Francis's stay in Damietta, suggest that Francis went to Egypt to preach the Gospel peacefully through his extreme example of poverty and penance. As Frugoni recently pointed out, this Franciscan ethos vis-à-vis Christians and non-Christians is remarkably summed up in a meaningful passage of the *Compilatio Assisiensis*, which describes a meeting between Francis and Cardinal Hugolino that took place in Florence in 1217. On this occasion, when asked why he had sent the brothers to preach the Gospel abroad, the saint explained to Cardinal Hugolino that the brothers had to be concerned with preaching the doctrine of Salvation both in Christian and infidel territories.[76] This source also further illustrates the problematic nature of Francis's spontaneous and peaceful missionary plans during his lifetime. Indeed, the *Passio sanctorum martyrum in Marochio* and the *Chronicle* of Jordan of Giano indicate that the cult of the first Franciscan martyrs in Morocco rapidly spread within the order, despite Francis's attempts to limit it. Likewise, the dangers of these spontaneous, unorganized and often fatal missions in non-Christian territories must have been well known to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which unquestionably tried to reduce the risks arising from uncontrolled missions by licensing only those preachers deemed suitable (*idonei*) for the mission by their superiors, in accordance with the prescriptions of canon 10 of the Fourth Lateran Council.[77] In this context, I believe, we also ought to place chapter XVI of the *Regula non bullata*, where Francis prescribed that only authorized brothers could perform preaching before non-Christians and exhorted friars to avoid martyrdom where possible, envisaging their death by infidel hand only as *extrema ratio*. As is well known, the Apostolic See did not approve Francis's *Regula non bullata*. It is therefore hardly surprising that chapter XII of the *Regula bullata* of 1223 entirely focused on the right of the provincial ministers to authorize the friars' preaching and the ultimate control of the cardinal protector over any Franciscan missionary activity. Ultimately, this chapter of the *Regula bullata* shows that by the third decade of the thirteenth century, the Church's attempts at institutionalizing the unlearned and spontaneous call for preaching the Gospel, which had been followed in Christian and non-Christian territories by Francis and his brothers, was well under way.

The learned approach to the conversion of the

non-Christians: Oliver of Cologne's letters to al-Kāmil

Arguably, the case for the coexistence between learned and unlearned traditions with regard to the conversion of non-Christians at the time of the Fifth Crusade emerges with even greater clarity when comparing Francis's preaching vis-à-vis al-Kāmil in the writings of Oliver of Cologne. Oliver's background is pretty similar to that of Jacques de Vitry, as they both came from the ranks of the secular clergy, were trained at Paris and were appointed by Innocent III to preach the crusade in 1213. Oliver preached the crusade in the Rhineland probably between 1214 and 1215, when he accompanied the archbishop of Cologne to the Fourth Lateran Council. He later joined the German crusading army and participated in the Fifth Crusade, remaining in the Holy Land between 1217 and 1222. His crusading experience and its aftermath also coincided with a very prolific period for his literary activity and resulted in the composition of the well-known account of the crusade, the *Historia Damiatina*, along with other lesser-known descriptions and short histories of the Holy Land.[78]

Unlike Jacques de Vitry, there is no evidence that Oliver directly engaged in the conversion of Muslims during the crusade, but only after its failure in September 1221.[79] On the contrary, during the crusade, Oliver focused on providing pastoral support to the crusading army and contributed to the military activity through the design and construction of the celebrated siege-engine which allowed the Christians to capture the tower defending Damietta in the middle of the Nile. The changeable attitude of Oliver towards the conversion of the Muslims is echoed in the historiography on his legacy as crusader and missionary preacher. On the one hand, both Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken and Jean Richard maintained that Oliver represents a crusading missionary preacher, engaged with the celebration of the crusade achievements, the military submission of the Muslims and their eventual conversion. Indeed, according to Richard, both Jacques de Vitry and Oliver, along with Francis of Assisi, embodied the growth of the missionary spirit during the Fifth Crusade.[80] On the other hand, Kedar emphasized that Oliver of Cologne's appeals for the conversion of Muslims followed in the tradition initiated in the late eleventh century by Pope Gregory VII and carried on in the twelfth century by Peter the Venerable, Pope Alexander III and finally Innocent III, who wrote to the rulers of Aleppo and of Morocco in 1199 and 1211. In

Kedar's opinion, it was Oliver's personal acquaintance and knowledge of Islam, acquired during the crusade, that drove him to explicitly create a 'causal relationship' between mission and crusade, since the Muslim prohibition of Christian preaching in their territories had made the crusade inevitable and justified in Oliver's eyes.[81]

What seems even more remarkable and has been, to some extent, unnoticed so far in the historiographical debate is that Oliver always described the Muslim doctrine in his work from the theological perspective of an educated clergyman and preacher. What is missing in Oliver's work is the pragmatic and pastoral engagement with the Muslims, which is instead very present in Jacques de Vitry's work, confirming that Oliver did not engage in pastoral activity and conversion of non-Christians during the crusade. Likewise, Oliver's learned arguments stand very far from Francis and his friars' spontaneous evangelical preaching.

Arguably, Oliver's theological approach to the conversion of non-Christians is evidenced to different degrees in both his *Historia Damiatina* and two of his letters, addressed to al-Kāmil and his advisers after the failure of the crusade in 1221. In the *Historia Damiatina*, probably compiled between 1219 and 1223, Oliver focused on the doctrine of Islam in a short *excursus*, which is positioned alongside the account of al-Mu'azzam's destruction of the defensive walls of Jerusalem in 1219.[82] After praising the Muslims for sparing the Holy Sepulchre from destruction because of its holiness, Oliver addressed similarities and differences between the Quran and the Gospels. In particular, he maintained that both Christians and Saracens believed that Jesus was conceived by the Virgin Mary, that he lived without sin, that he was a prophet who performed many miracles and that he was resurrected. However, in Oliver's words, the Muslims denied Christ's passion and death on the cross and they did not accept his nature as both divine and human and the doctrine of the Trinity. Indeed, Oliver tried to redefine the nature of Islam not as another religion, but as heresy, pointing out that in peacetime, Muslim 'priests' used to travel to Jerusalem in order to read the Gospel and learn the Christian law. It was indeed Mahomet, whom Oliver, quoting the Quran, disparagingly addressed as an uneducated man (*illitteratus*), who wrote the Muslim law in Arabic under the devil's directives, turning the Muslims into belligerent and dissolute people.[83]

Oliver's approach towards Islam in the *Historia Damiatina* was neither new nor original and, in many respects, it echoed the contemporary account of the *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry

and contemporary anonymous descriptions of the Holy Land and its people.[84] Similarly, Oliver speculated at length on the similarities and differences between Christianity and Islam in two long letters, known as letters V and VI, which were respectively addressed to al-Kāmil and his theologians in September 1221, after the failure of the Fifth Crusade and the Christian defeat. These two letters are pretty similar in terms of their content and overall cover the same subject matter, although their approach varies according to their intended audience. In letter V, addressed to al-Kāmil, Oliver placed the discussion concerning similarities and differences between Christianity and Islam within the context of a short history of the Holy Land from biblical times to the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of Saladin in 1187, and saw them as justifications for the crusade and the requirements for Muslims to convert to Christianity. Ultimately, in this letter, Oliver's apology aimed at demonstrating why Jerusalem was lawfully Christian and had to be returned to Christian control.

The first section of letter V initially deals with the common doctrinal beliefs shared by Islam and Christianity, which are described with words and themes echoing chapter 24 of the *Historia Damiatina*.[85] This section of the letter clearly functions as a rhetorical device to open a productive dialogue with al-Kāmil. Most interestingly, Oliver later focused on the theological differences between the two religions, which were overshadowed in the *Historia Damiatina*, addressing them from the Muslim point of view. In particular, in Oliver's opinion, the Muslims called the Christians unbelievers (*incredulos*) and idolaters (*idolatras*) because of their Trinitarian doctrine, their cult of religious relics and images, which are remarkably defined by our educated preacher as 'scripts of the laity' (*imagines sunt littere laicorum*), their cult of saints and their marriage laws.[86] Finally, Oliver concludes this section of letter V by reiterating the *Historia Damiatina*, where he discussed the belligerent and dissolute nature of Islam, although he did not address Mahomet's legacy in such negative terms. Oliver counterbalanced the shortcomings of Islam with the example of Christ's peaceful preaching, ultimately validating the crusade as a necessary defensive war to protect the activity of the preachers in Muslim territories and foster the conversion of the Muslims.[87] Finally, going back to the shared belief in Christ as son of the Virgin Mary, Oliver concludes this first section of letter V, justifying the Christian claim over Jerusalem and the superiority of the Christian law over Judaism and Islam.[88]

Unsurprisingly, the second section of letter V opened with a long

captatio benevolentie praising al-Kāmil for his compassionate behaviour during the crusade and moved on to the request for the restitution of Jerusalem.[89] Oliver supported the latter request through a long *excursus* concerning the history of the Holy Land from the time of the patriarchs to its Muslim conquest in the eighth century and the crusading period up to Saladin's victory in 1187.[90] Furthermore, Oliver gave a strategic justification for the crusader's decision to reject al-Kāmil's truce in 1221, which would have allowed the Christians to recover Jerusalem without any guarantee of retaining it owing to its lack of defences.[91]

Finally, Oliver appealed for al-Kāmil's intervention before his brother al-Mu'azzam, who was responsible for taxing Christian pilgrims visiting the Holy Land and restricting their freedom.[92] In the last section of letter V, Oliver returned to his apologetic tones in an attempt to encourage al-Kāmil towards conversion and once more engaged with the main issue of disagreement between Christianity and Islam, namely the Trinitarian doctrine and the divine and human nature of Christ, which ultimately justified the Christian conception of creation.[93]

Similar theological arguments were put forward in Oliver's letter VI, which aimed at the conversion of the Muslims by means of an academic debate with the scholars (*sapientes et mathematicos*) in al-Kāmil's entourage. Oliver began his apology for Christianity with the doctrine of the Trinity, focusing on Christ's Jewish birth, on the virginity of Mary and on his human and divine nature, manifested in his miracles.[94] Here Oliver tried to persuade his opponents through a long and detailed comparison between Muslim law and Christian doctrine, which constitutes the main body of letter VI. Oliver discussed the differences between the Muslim religious texts and the Bible, which was only partly accepted by the Muslims while it was shared by the Greek, Jewish and Latin traditions, all acknowleging the Mosaic law. The differences between Islam and Christianity were further demonstrated through the detailed listing of the biblical texts dealing with Christ's passion that allowed Oliver to prove beyond any doubt the existence of the human nature of Christ, when he died on the cross, and his divine nature, proved by his resurrection.[95] Finally, Oliver concluded with the invitation addressed to the Muslim theologians to reply to his argumentation, closing his letter with an 'apology of the cross', in which, as he put it, Christians believed and which the Christians preached and worshipped without any shame. The conclusion of letter VI therefore allowed Oliver to return to the

theme of crusading, making an implicit reference to the recent unsuccessful outcome of the Fifth Crusade, which had been made more explicit in letter V.

Conclusions

The attitude of Oliver of Cologne towards the Muslims is arguably very different from that of Francis, since his intentions are far from the ideals of the apostolic life of the latter. It is remarkable that Oliver's approach to the Muslim doctrine builds on a well-established scholastic tradition, using the same conservative arguments already present in treatises to non-Christians from the twelfth century onwards and in papal correspondence. Indeed, especially in letter V, Oliver made significant critical remarks about lay ignorance of religious doctrine, clearly distinguishing between different levels and abilities of theological knowledge and understanding. Likewise, in letter VI, the explanation of Christian doctrine focused on the theological argumentations, playing on the knowledge of its intended audience and listing an impressive number of biblical authorities to argue convincingly for Christ's passion. Unlike Francis and the five friars in Morocco, Oliver evidently preferred to preach through the written word rather than example. Furthermore, in Oliver's writings, the references to the conversion of the Sultan and his advisors represent rhetorical devices and leitmotivs designed to obtain a favourable settlement with the Muslims after the failure of the Fifth Crusade, in particular the return of Jerusalem under Christian rule. Indeed, both of Oliver's letters echo a clichéd scholastic approach and stress similarities and differences between Muslim and Christian religions, reminding his audience of the shared belief in Christ as a prophet in both religions. Arguably, in both letters, Oliver's educated approach ultimately serves as a justification of the crusade and the use of the 'material sword'.

On the contrary, as argued above, Francis's mission vis-à-vis al-Kāmil focused on preaching the Gospel by example, as the analysis of the two Franciscan rules and Jacques de Vitry's accounts convincingly demonstrates. Indeed, the examination of the textual traditions of the pre-1228 Franciscan and non-Franciscan sources allows us to challenge the historiographical view, maintaining that Francis's journey to Damietta was prompted by his desire for martyrdom and his anti-crusade approach. Indeed, I would argue that the historiographical debate on the clash between mission and crusade

has led the debate to focus on martyrdom and crusading propaganda rather than on the real issues, namely different modalities of preaching in the early thirteenth century and promotion of Church reform after the Fourth Lateran Council.

Undeniably, the crusader camp in Damietta and the ultimate failure of the Fifth Crusade provided Francis and Oliver with an unique opportunity to implement their missionary activity. However, I would suggest that, on the basis of the careful examination of the primary sources and their textual tradition, we ought to shift the debate on Oliver and Francis's attitudes towards non-Christians away from the crusade and instead focus on their background and their overall activity in the East. If we follow this shift, Francis and Oliver emerge as noteworthy representatives of two different ways of approaching the conversion of non-Christians in the early thirteenth-century Church. Their well-documented missionary activity indeed illustrates the coexistence in Damietta of crusading clergy and traditionalists like Oliver, who still tried to subject non-Christians to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, supported by the scholastic tradition, canon law and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and radicals like Francis, who were inspired by the ideals of preaching the Gospel by example. Francis's and Oliver's approaches vis-à-vis the conversion of the Muslims ultimately demonstrate that at the time of the Fifth Crusade, different approaches towards mission and crusade existed within the broader milieu of the reform of the thirteenth-century Church.

Notes

1I am most grateful to Professor Chiara Frugoni for sharing with me a copy of her recent publication *Francesco e 'le terre dei non cristiani'* (Milan, 2012).

2Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 57–85.

3Ibid., pp. 99–112.

4Ibid., pp. 116–35. More recently, Kedar has taken his argument further, pointing out how the new attitude towards Muslims went along with an 'ever-growing intercultural compatibility in the sphere of diplomatic, a compatibility that largely surmounted religious barriers': Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Religion in Catholic-Muslim Correspondence and Treaties', in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500. Aspects of Cross-cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden, 2008), p. 421.

5Jean Richard, *Le papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Rome, 1998), pp. 3–16, 33–40.

6Mario Condorelli, *I fondamenti giuridici della tolleranza religiosa nell'elaborazione canonistica dei secoli XII–XIV* (Milan, 1960), pp. 89–131; James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels* (Liverpool, 1979), pp. 3–49. A similar argument has been

suggested by Peter Herde, 'Christians and Saracens at the Time of the Crusades: Some Comments of Contemporary Medieval Canonists', *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), pp. 359–376; and Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Muslim Conversion in Canon Law', in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Berkeley, 28 July–2 August 1980*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington (Vatican City, 1985), pp. 321–32.

7 Muldoon, *Popes*, p. 5.

8 Christoph Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 8–17; Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 142–46. See also Raimondo Michetti, 'François d'Assise et la paix révélée. Réflexions sur le mythe du pacifisme franciscain et sur la prédication de paix de François d'Assise dans la société communale du XIIIe siècle', in *Precher la paix, et disciplinet la societé: Italie, France, Angleterre (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, ed. Rosa Maria Dessì (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 279–312.

9 Adam L. Hoose, 'Francis of Assisi's Way of Peace? His Conversion and Mission to Egypt', *Catholic Historical Review*, 96 (2010), pp. 435–55.

10 James Powell, 'Francesco d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata. Una missione di pace', *Schede Medievali*, 4 (1983), pp. 68–77, now in *The Crusades, The Kingdom of Sicily, and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 68–77; *Anatomy*, pp. 158–60; J. Hoeberichts, *Francis and Islam* (Quincy, IL, 1997), p. 42; Pauli Annala, 'Brother Francis and the Fifth Crusade', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kurt Villads Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), p. 109.

11 Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 7–18, 55–69.

12 Emmett R. Daniel, 'The Desire for Martyrdom: A Leitmotiv of St. Bonaventure', *Franciscan Studies*, 31 (1971), pp. 74–87; Emmett R. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, 1975), pp. 1–25, 48–49; Isabelle Heullant-Donat, 'La perception des premier martyrs franciscains à l'intérieur de l'Ordre au XIIIe siècle', in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Age. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, ed. Lionel Rousselot et al. (Rennes, 2003), pp. 211–20; James D. Ryan, 'Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization', *Catholic Historical Review*, 90 (2004), pp. 1–28; Paolo Evangelisti, 'Martirio volontario ed ideologia della Crociata. Formazione e irradiazione dei modelli francescani a partire dalla matrici altomedievali', *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 27 (2006), pp. 161–248; Christopher MacEvitt, 'Martyrdom and the Muslim World through Franciscan Eyes', *Catholic Historical Review*, 97 (2011), pp. 1–23; André Vauchez, *François d'Assise. Entre histoire et mémoire* (Paris, 2009), p. 95.

13 Helene Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III* (English trans.) (New York, 1980), pp. 189–260; John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216)* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 102–34. On Innocent III and the religious apostolic movements, see Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1995), pp. 31–68; Brenda Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation* (London, 1983), pp. 94–111.

14 On Innocent III's attitude towards the conversion of non-Christians, see Barbara Bombi, *Novella plantatio fidei. Missione e crociata nel nord Europa tra XII e XIII secolo* (Rome, 2007), pp. 131–43; Barbara Bombi, 'Innocent III and the Baltic Crusade after the Conquest of Constantinople', in *Crusading on the Edge : Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt and Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen (Turnhout, forthcoming). On the link between crusading, wandering preaching and the Gregorian reform movement in the late eleventh century, see Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2 vols (Paris, 1954–59); Collin Morris, 'A Hermit

Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', in *Monks, Heremits and Ascetic Tradition, ed.* William J. Sheils (Oxford, 1985), pp. 79–107. On the meaning of peace in Francis of Assisi's writings, see Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 48–54.

15 See, for instance, James M. Powell, 'Francesco d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata: Una Missione di Pace', *Schede Medievali*, 4 (1983), pp. 68–77, here pp. 271–80; Hoeberichts, *Francis and Islam*, pp. 32–41; Annala, 'Brother Francis and the Fifth Crusade', pp. 107–19.

16 Enrico Menestò, 'La "questione francescana" come problema filologico', in *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (Turin, 1997), pp. 117–42; Raul Manselli, *San Francesco d'Assisi* (Milan, 2002), pp. 15–71; Jacques Dalarun, *The Misadventures of Francis of Assisi: Towards the Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends* (New York, 2002), pp. 21–58.

17 John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian–Muslim Encounter* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 54–69; Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 18–23. On Thomas of Celano's *Vita Prima*, see Dalarun, *Misadventures*, pp. 93–102.

18 Tommaso da Celano, 'Vita beati Francisci', in *Analecta Franciscana X* (Florence, 1936–41, Part I, XX, p. 42: 'sacri martyrii desiderio maxime flagrans, ad predicandam fidem christianam et poenitentiam Saraceni set caeteris infidelibus, ad partes Syriae voluit transfertare'.

19 Tommaso da Celano, 'Vita beati Francisci', pp. 42–44.

20 Emanuela Prinzivalli, 'Un santo da leggere. Francesco d'Assisi nel percorso delle fonti agiografiche', in *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia*, pp. 71–116.

21 Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 92.

22 Ibid., pp. 70–72.

23 Ibid., pp. 109–34; Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 8–12, 23–35, 40–43, 97–99. Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 28–29, pointed out that Bonaventure interestingly omitted the story of the ordeal of fire in his *Legenda minor*, which was included in the friars' breviaries.

24 Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 22–23, especially n. 48.

25 Manselli, *San Francesco*, pp. 15–49.

26 See above, nn. 10–11.

27 Francesco Gabrieli, 'S. Francesco e l'Oriente islamico', in *Espansione del francescanesimo tra Occidente e Oriente nel secolo XIII*, ed. Roberto Rusconi (Assisi, 1979), pp. 119–21. As Gabrieli has pointed out, the Arab contemporaries saw Francis's journey to Damietta as the mission of another *rahib* (priest) preaching the Gospel to the Muslims, hence they did not record it. The only Arab account of the meeting between Francis and al-Kāmil is the fifteenth-century biography of Fakhr ad-Din al-Fàrisi, who died after 1219 and was a lawyer and advisor of the sultan, which reports the story of the ordeal of fire proposed by Francis and rejected by al-Kāmil.

28 Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'ordine francescano* (Florence, 1906), vol. I, pp. 10–13. See also Leonhard Lemmens, 'De sancto Francisco Christum praedicante coram sultano Aegypti', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 19 (1926), pp. 559–78; Gwenolé Jeusset, *Dieu est courtoise. François d'Assise, son Ordre et l'Islam* (Rennes, 1985), pp. 7–9. On the *French Continuations of William of Tyre* dated as mentioned above, see Margaret R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 41–46. See also Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 42–43, quoting Morgan's work.

29 Peter Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's Historia: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, 6 (2007), pp. 69–105. See also Peter Edbury, 'The Lyon *Eracles* and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre', in *Montjoie:*

Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith and Ruldolf Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 139–53.

30Peter Edbury, 'New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 110–11.

31Edbury, 'New Perspectives', pp. 108–09.

32Ibid., pp. 107–13.

33Ibid., p. 109. See also Guy Perry, *John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 102–03.

34Tommaso da Celano, 'Vita beati Francisci', pp. 42–44; *Ernoul*, pp. 432–35. Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 46–47, argues that the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* described al-Kāmil as a model Muslim ruler.

35Tommaso da Celano, 'Vita beati Francisci', p. 44: 'Sed quis enarrare sufficiat … quanta facundia et fiducia legi christiane insultantibus respondebant?'; Ernoul, p. 433: 'Li soudans lor respondi qu'il avoit de sa loi archeveques et vesques et bon clers, et sans aus ne pooit il mie oir [ce] qu'il disoient. Li clerc li respondirent: "De ce sommes nous moult liet; mandés les, et se nous ne les poons mostrer par droites raisons que c'est voirs que nous vos disons, que vostre lois est niens, s'il nous veulent oir et entendre, faites nos les stestes coper."' On this point, see also Frugoni, *Francesco*, p. 101.

36*Ernoul*, pp. 431–32. Indeed, the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, p. 435, mentions the Muslim proposal of returning Jerusalem soon after the story concerning the meeting between Francis and al-Kāmil.

37Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 44, 47–50; Vauchez, *François d'Assise*, pp. 150–51; Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 99–100.

38See above, nn. 19–20. By contrast, Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 42–46, emphasized the similarities between the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* and Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Occidentalis*. Edbury, 'New Perspectives', pp. 110–12, maintained that the *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* were compiled in different recensions and reworked between the 1220s and 1240s both in the West and in Acre, where 'scribes worked from unbound signatures that sometimes got muddled'. See also Edbury, 'The French Translation of William', p. 94.

39See above, n. 28.

40See above, n. 26.

41Tolan, *Saint Francis*, p. 49, also suggested that the *Eracles* was written after Francis's canonization, which is mentioned in the text.

42*Eracles*, p. 348: 'Cil hom, qui comenca l'ordre des Freres Menors, si ot nom Frere Franceis, qui puis saintefia et fu mis en auctorité, si que l'en l'apele saint Franceis, vint en l'oste de Damiate, et i fist moult de bien, et demora tant que la vile fu prise. Il vit le mal et le peché qui comenca a creistre entre les gens de l'ost, si li desplot, por quoi il s'en parti et fu une piece en Surie, et puis s'en rala en son pais.'

43*Eracles*, pp. 348–49. See also Tolan, *Saint Francis*, p. 49; Frugoni, *Francesco*, p. 121.

44*H.Occ.*, pp. 16–20.

45Ibid., pp. 161–62: 'Vidimus primum huius ordinis fundatorem et magistrum, cui tamquam summo priori suo omnes alii obediunt, virum simplicem et illitteratum, dilectum deo et hominibus, fratrem Francinum nominatum, ad tantum ebrietatis excessum et fervorem spiritus raptum fuisse, quod, cum ad exercitum christianorum ante Damiatam in terra Egypti devenisset, ad soldani Egypti castra intrepidus et fidei clypeo communitus accessit.' Another striking example of similarities between Jacques de Vitry's work and the *Eracles* is given in Morgan,

The Chronicle of Ernoul, pp. 194–95.

46*H.Occ.*, pp. 3–10; Pascale Bourgain, 'Jakob von Vitry', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5 (Munich, 1991), coll. 294–95.

47*Lettres*, p. 54; *H.Occ.*, pp. 161–62.

48Huygens, 'Les manuscrits', in *Lettres*, p. 43.

49*Lettres*, pp. 131–32: 'Domnus Reinerus, prior sancti Michaelis, tradidit se religioni Fratrum Minorum, que religio valde multiplicatur per universum mundum eo, quod expresse imitantur formam primitive ecclesie et vitam apostolorum. Hec tamen religio valde periculosa nobis videtur eo, quod non solum perfecti, sed etiam iuvenes et imperfecti, qui sub conventuali disciplina aliquanto tempore artari et probari debuissent, per universum mundum bini et bini dividuntur.'

50*Lettres*, p. 133: 'Eidem predicte religioni tradidit se Colinus Anglicus, clericus noster, et alii duo de sociis nostris, scilicet magister Michael et dominus Matheus, cui curam ecclesie Sancte Crucis, commiseram: cantorem et Henricum et alios quosdam vix retineo.' Jacques de Vitry made a similar remark on the quick growth of the Franciscans also in *H.Occ.*, p. 160.

51Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, p. 7 n. 1; Martiniano Roncaglia, *St. Francis of Assisi and the Middle East* (Cairo, 1957), p. 23 n. 38

52Huygens, in *Lettres*, p. 621, n. 2, suggested that the passage concerning Francis was removed by a pro-Franciscan scribe because of its criticism of the Order.

53Huygens, 'Les manuscrits', pp. 47–48 and *Lettres*, pp. 131–33.

54Tolan, *Saint Francis*, p. 31.

55Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 55–63.

56*Lettres*, pp. 127–28, 133 (reference to two Muslim children sent to the West after the capture of Damietta). Jacques de Vitry's success in converting Muslim children is also recorded in Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina*: Hoogeweg, p. 167.

57Hoeberichts, *Francis and Islam*, p. 42.

58Bombi, *Novella plantatio*, pp. 132–59. On the contrary, Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 38–39, argues that Jacques de Vitry used the meeting between Francis and al-Kāmil to evidence moral and spiritual renewal, to promote reform through conversion and to suggest a successful alternative to the failure of the crusade.

59Compare, for instance, the wording of *The Historia Occidentalis*, p. 159: 'Mittuntur autem bini ad predicandum tamquam ante faciem domini et ante secundum eius adventum' and *Lettres*, p. 132 note to line 255: 'Ite … bini et bini per diversas partes orbis.' The wording *bini et bini* also echoes the Latin Vulgate, *1 Chronicles*, 26:17: 'Ad orientem vero Levitae sex: et ad aquilonem, quatuor per diem: atque ad meridiem similiter in die quatuor: et ubi erat concilium bini et bini.' See also Dalarun, *Misadventures*, p. 109.

60On the dating of the *Historia Occidentalis*, see *H.Occ.*, pp. 16–20.

61*Lettres*, pp. 132–33: 'Magister vero illorum, qui ordinem illum instituit, cum venisset in exercitum nostrum, zelo fidei accensus ad exercitum hostium nostrorum pertransire, non timuit et cum aliquot diebus Sarracenis verbum dei predicasset, modicum profecit'; *H.Occ.*, pp. 161–62: 'Vidimus primum huius ordinis fundatorem et magistrum … ad tantum ebrietatis excessum et fervorem spiritus raptum fuisse, quod, cum ad exercitum christianorum ante Damiatam in terra Egypti devenisset, ad soldani Egypti castra intrepidus et fidei clypeo communitus accessit … Quem cum in via captum sarraceni tenuissent, "Ego", inquit, "christianus sum. Ducite me ad dominum vestrum". Quem cum ante ipsum pertraxissent, videns eum bestia crudelis, in apsectu viri dei in mansuetudine conversa, per dies aliquot ipsum sibi et suis Christi fidem predicantem

attendissime audivit.'

62*Lettres*, p. 133: 'Soldanus autem, rex Egypti, ab eo secreto petiit ut pro se domino supplicaret quatinus religioni, que magis deo placeret, divinitus inspiratus adhereret'; *H.Occ.*, p. 162: 'Tandem vero, metuens ne aliqui de exercitu suo, verborum eius efficacia ad dominum conversi, ad christianorum exercitum pertransirent, cum omni reverentia et securitate ad nostrorum castra reduci precepit, dicens ei in fine: "Ora pro me, ut deus legem illam et fidem que magis sibi placet mihi dignetur revelare."'

63The seizure of Francis and his companion is also mentioned in *Ernoul*, p. 432.

64*H.Occ.*, p. 161: 'Non solum autem Christi fideles sed etiam sarraceni et obtenebrati homines, eorum humilitatem et perfectionem ammirantes, quando causa predicationis ad ipsos intrepidi accedunt, grato animo necessaria providentes, libentur eos recipiunt.'

65*H.Occ.*, p. 162: 'Sarraceni autem omnes predictos fratres minores tamdiu de Christi fide et evangelica doctrina predicantes libenter audiunt, quousque Machometo tamquam mendaci et perfido in predicatione sua manifeste contradicunt. Ex tunc autem impie eos verberantes, et, nisi deus mirabiliter protegeret, pene trucidantes, de civitatibus suis expellunt.'

66For the historiography on Francis and his mission to the East as martyrdom, see above n. 11 and 24.

67Francesco d'Assisi, *Regula non bullata*, in *Francisci Assisiensis Scripta*, ed. Carlo Paolazzi (Grottaferrata, 2009), chs. XIV–XVIII, pp. 264–70. See also Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 80–90.

68See above, n. 64.

69Francesco d'Assisi, *Regula non bullata*, cap. XVI, p. 268. These two ideas are stated through quotes from Luke 12:4 ('And I say to you, my friends: Be not afraid of them who kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do') and Mt. 10:22 ('he that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved').

70Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 7–9; Frugoni, *Francesco*, p. 89.

71Francesco d'Assisi, 'Regula bullata', in *Francisci Assisiensis Scripta*, ch. XII, pp. 336–38: 'Quicumque fratrum divina inspiratione voluerint ire inter sarracenos set alios infideles, petant inde licentiam ad suis ministris provincialibus. Ministri vero nullis eundi licentiam tribuant, nisi eis quos viderint esse idoneos ad mittendum.'

72Tolan, *Saint Francis*, pp. 9–10; Frugoni, *Francesco*, p. 88.

73*Primus Generalis Ordinis gloriosus Pater noster beatus Franciscus nei Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis Minorum*, Analecta Franciscana III (Florence, 1897), Appendix I, pp. 579–96. At p. 581, Francis prescribed to the friars: 'Imitatores Christi estote in paupertate, obedientia et castitate. … Rogo vos, quod ante oculos vestros semper habeatis dominicam passionem, que vos roborabit et ad patiendum pro ipso fortius animabit.' See also Tolan, *Saint Francis*, p. 6.

74 *Chronica fratris Jordani*, ed. Heinrich Boehmer (Paris, 1908), VIII, p. 7: 'Cum autem fratrum predictorum martirium, vita et legenda ad beatum Franciscum delata fuisset, audiens se in ea commendari et videns fratres de eorum passione gloriari, cum esset sui ipsius maximus contemptor et laudis et glorie aspernator, legendam respuit et eam legi prohibuit dicens: "Unusquisque de sua et non de aliena passione glorietur."'

75*Chronica fratris Jordani*, X, p. 8–9: 'Hiis itaque dispositis animadvertens pater beatus, quod filios suos ad passiones miserit et labores, ne aliis laborantibus propter Christum ipse quietem suam querere videretur, cum esset gloriosus animo et nollet aliquem se precellere in via Christi, sed magis pre omnibus precellens esse, cum filios ad incerta pericula miserit et inter fideles, ipse amore passionis

Christi fervens eodem anno quo alios fratres misit … ad certa maris pericula transiens ad infidels se ad Soldanum.' As Chiara Frugoni has recently argued, Jordan of Giano's account of the meeting between Francis and al-Kāmil is quite similar to that of other hagiographical legends, reporting the Muslim attack against Francis and his return to the crusading camp after the failure of his mission. However, Jordan interestingly referred to Francis's illness in the East and the divisions within the order during his absence as reasons that prompted Francis to return home. See Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 14–15, 95–96.

76Frugoni, *Francesco*, pp. 67–69. See also *Legenda Perusina, Legenda antiqua sancti Francisci, Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli, sociorum s. Francisci*, ed. Rosalind Brooke (Oxford, 1970), ch. LXXXII, pp. 232–33: 'Respondit ei beatus Franciscus cum magno fervore spiritus et spiritu prophetie: "Domine, putatis vel creditis quod Dominus solummodo propter istas provincias miserit fratres? Sed dico vobis in veritate, quod Dominus elegit et misit fratres propter profectum et salutem animarum omnium hominum totius mundi, et non solum recipientur in terra fidelium sed etiam infidelium. Et dummodo observent que Domino promiserunt, sic Dominus ministrabit eis necessaria in terra infidelium sicut et in terra fidelium."'

77Bombi, *Novella plantatio fidei*, pp. 249–67.

78On Oliver of Cologne's background and crusade preaching, see Paul B. Pixton, 'Prediger des Fünften Kreuzzuges in Deutschland', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 34(1) (1978), pp. 166–91; Rudolf Hiestand, 'Oliver Scholasticus und die Pariser Schulen zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts. Zu einem neuen Textfund', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 58 (1987), pp. 1–34. On Oliver's work, see Friedrich Zarncke, 'Über Olivers Historia Damiatina und das sogenannte dritte Buch der Historia Orientalis des Jacob von Vitry', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Classe*, 27 (1875), pp. 138–48; Barbara Bombi, 'Introduzione', in Barbara Bombi, Giancarlo Andenna and Aldo Settia, *I Cristiani e il favoloso Egitto. Una relazione dall'Oriente e la Storia di Damietta di Oliviero di Colonia* (Milan, 2009), pp. 13–17.

79See above, n. 54.

80Anna Dorothee von den Brincken, 'Islam und Oriens Christianus in den Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters Oliver († 1227)', *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, 17 (1985), pp. 86–102; Richard, *Le papauté et les missions d'Orient*, pp. 35–37.

81Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 131–33.

82Hoogeweg, p. 203. On the dating of the *Historia Damiatina*, see Bombi, 'Introduzione', pp. 16–17.

83Hoogeweg, pp. 203–05.

84Bombi, 'Introduzione', pp. 18–26.

85Hoogeweg, pp. 296–97.

86Ibid., pp. 297–98.

87Ibid., p. 299: 'Si gens tua doctrinam Christi et predicatores eius publice admitteret, ecclesia Dei gladium verbi Dei libenter ei mitteret et ad consortium fidei catholice gaudens invitaret. Sed quoniam aliud remedium non invenit contra potentiam Sarracenorum, lex Catholicorum principum gladio materiali ad defensionem Christianitatis et iuris sui recuperationem licenter utitur.'

88Ibid., pp. 300–01.

89Ibid., pp. 301–02.

90Ibid., pp. 302–05.

91 Ibid., p. 305: ‘Nosti, Montem regalem potiorem esse partem regni et provinciam nobilissimam ac metropolim ditiorem aliis ad regnum Jerusalem pertinentibus, sine qua cum Cracco die retineri non potest civitas sancta.’

92 Ibid., pp. 305–06.

93 Ibid., pp. 306–07.

94 Ibid., pp. 307–10.

95 Ibid., pp. 310–13.

7 Crusade and reform

The sermons of Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999

Jessalynn Bird

When writing his still-definitive treatment of the Fifth Crusade nearly 30 years ago, James Powell noted that, with the exception of the Rommersdorf Briefbuch's collection of papal bulls, little direct evidence of the modus operandi of those preaching the Fifth Crusade survived, perhaps because the unusual character of crusade appeals meant that they did not fit neatly into typical sermon collections. Instead, Powell cleverly utilized papal bulls, a crusade preaching treatise probably written by a Paris master preaching the Fifth Crusade in England (the *Brevis ordinacio*), and the *ad crucesignatos* sermons of Jacques de Vitry to isolate the main themes that would dominate Innocent III's vision of the crusade and that of many of the preachers he appointed. These themes were the crusade's inclusion, in the aftermath of the populist preaching of Fulk of Neuilly and the crusade of the *pueri*, of all who wished to participate, and the interweaving of crusade preparations with peace-making efforts and calls for social and personal moral reformation which would be reiterated in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).[1] What no one realized in the 1980s was that crusade sermons delivered during preparations for the Fifth Crusade did survive in at least two preaching handbooks: Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 14470 and Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999. Both combined raw materials for the preacher with *reportationes* of sermons delivered in Paris and its environs by one of the main groups drawn on by Innocent III when selecting preachers for the Fifth Crusade: Paris-trained masters.[2]

As I have already published two surviving crusade sermons from BnF Lat. 14470 and will be publishing several more from the same manuscript in the near future, this chapter will focus on what I will call, for brevity's sake, the BnF 999 manuscript.[3] First described by Nicole Bériou in her masterful overview of preaching in thirteenth-century Paris, the BnF 999 handbook combines crusading and

reforming materials including Innocent III's sermons to the Fourth Lateran Council, Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione*, Alan of Lille's *Ars predicandi*, other preaching material (a bestiary, *distinctiones*) and two collections of sermons, including unreworked *reportationes* of crusading and reforming appeals delivered in and around Paris. Some are anonymous, while others are by known recruiters including William of Pont de l'Arche, who preached the Albigensian Crusade with Jacques de Vitry and Robert of Courçon, and two future cardinals involved in crusade preparations during and after the Fifth Crusade: Peter of Capua the younger and John Halgrin of Abbeville.[4] Crucially, the *reportatio* format avoids many of the problems of later reworking and compilation noted by Christoph Maier in his comprehensive study of model crusade sermons. The BnF 999 sermons do not represent a smorgasbord of themes from which the preacher was meant to pick (as in the case of many crusade preaching treatises), nor have contextualizing references to current events and specific crusades been expunged, as happened in the case of many recruiting appeals later refashioned for inclusion in sermon collections organized around feast days, saints or various social categories. They are, in their incomplete and sometimes terse state, nevertheless the closest we can come to the kind of harangues actually delivered during preparations for the Fifth Crusade.[5]

The *reportationes* also provide precious evidence of how Paris-trained masters devoted to the reform of the Church and individuals responded to specific current events, including the crusade of the *pueri* in 1212 and Innocent III's mandate (in 1213), for the regular preaching of the crusade, accompanied by intercessory processions and prayers inserted into the mass. They illustrate how Paris masters combined crusade preparations with those for a great reforming council to be held in 1215, seen by many members of Peter the Chanter's circle as the potential culmination of the legislation and disciplinary efforts of their generation, including those of Guala de Bicchieri, Robert of Courçon and the bishops of Paris. The spectre of heresy, familiar from the involvement of the Paris masters in the recent suppression of the Amalricians (1210) and the Albigensian Crusade, also coloured these surviving crusade appeals, some of which were clearly directed to audiences of regular religious or secular ecclesiastics, while others were directed to mixed audiences characteristic of the bustling royal and university city of Paris.[6]

One sermon most likely delivered in 1213 addresses an audience composed of scholars, ecclesiastics, *milites*, the cloistered and the

wealthy. Using the theme verse 'Who will rise with me against the evildoers?' (Psalm 93:16), the preacher portrays God as the highest king calling the knights of his household whom he has raised, enriched and redeemed to repay him with service in battle even unto death. Although the image was a popular one in crusading appeals, including *Quia maior* (1213), the preacher may also have been referring to royal preparations for what would become the Battle of Bouvines (1214). If the king of France offered daily wages of 20, 10 and 5 *solidi* respectively to *milites*, mounted sergeants and foot soldiers, who would not follow him? Yet, the sermon notes, many shun God's offer of the kingdom of heaven to crusaders.[7] A true *prudhomme* (*probum virum*) should imitate the saints in eschewing pride, murmuring and complaints, and will win spiritual and physical victory through perseverance, poverty, humility, temperance, patience, willingness to suffer, hope in God and future rewards, and confession.[8] Following the advice of Peter the Chanter's circle, the preacher urges temperance in the flesh, mind and worldly possessions. Potential recruits must not harbour anger against their companions, should be prudent and fearful lest they overestimate their own strength and become negligent, and should beware the sin of lust. They ought to shun shameless and foolish women, consume food and drink moderately, respect the limitations of disputation and secular learning, and avoid the excessive pursuit of earthly possessions which leads to mental turmoil, dissension, hatred and pride.[9] The preacher's advice was echoed in contemporary recruiting appeals and exhortations delivered to the crusaders before Damietta by Jacques de Vitry, Oliver of Paderborn and others. Their harangues reflected critiques originating from monastic circles and contemporary reformers, and sought to balance the demands and ideals of knightly, merchant and scholarly culture with those of the uniquely militarized pilgrim state of the crusader.[10]

The preacher also clearly alludes to the contemporary stress on liturgical intercessions as a valid home front for the crusading effort. Drawing on the long tradition of the liturgical and intercessory role of ecclesiastics in times of crisis and warfare, processions and prayers had been mustered by the bishops of Paris for the anti-heretical crusade in Paris and by papal mandate prior to the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The success of the latter and the impact of the *pueri*'s procession-based crusade had inspired Innocent III to institute monthly processions and daily prayers inserted into the mass for a new eastern crusade in 1213.[11] Invoking the Israelites of the Old

Testament, who were accompanied in battle by musical instruments, the preacher assures listeners that God will break the strength of spiritual and temporal enemies through clerical intercession. Systematically countering the objections of those who wish to take the cross but are hindered by fear, dread of penury or labour, or concern for their children, he also attacks hypocritical preachers who are like criers who issue the call to battle and then cower among the baggage. His audience (including putative crusade recruiters) ought instead to take the cross as God's true servants and sons so that others will follow their example. These themes resonate with Jacques de Vitry's sermons to pilgrims on crusade and contemporary anonymous appeals preserved in BnF 14470, which stressed that crusaders would triumph through perseverance rather than strength and wisdom.[12]

Echoing *Quia maior*'s eschatological depiction of the world's final dotage, the preacher evokes the biblical, Joachite and Sibylline image of a re-greening dry tree. The tree is the Christian people, the land is that place in which Christ was crucified for the faith, those nearest to the land are the innocent children who the other year were signed with the cross, after those, the poor laypersons and clerics close to Christ who already have become green through taking the cross. It is likely that they will be followed by other greater persons.[13] Some contemporaries had claimed that the Paris masters consulted by Philip Augustus had advised sending the French *pueri* home in 1212, while others stressed that the *pueri* presented themselves as succeeding in recovering the spiritual and earthly Jerusalem by moral purity and spiritual poverty alone where the corrupt powerful and clergy had failed.[14] Paris masters from Peter the Chanter's circle had long attacked the vices of the rich and powerful, and insisted that the poor were far more easily converted to God's service, a theme the *pueri* had adopted as part of their self-image. Here we have a clear attempt by a sympathetic Paris preacher to rechannel the spiritual mandate appropriated by the *pueri* into an appeal for all ranks and occupations, including the clergy and powerful, to purify and renew themselves and the church through spiritual repentance and participation in the crusade movement, either by taking the cross or participating in the new liturgical home front. It is no accident that the preacher's recent predecessors and contemporaries, including Fulk of Neuilly, Jacques de Vitry and Robert of Courçon, were accused of giving the crusader's cross to all who desired it as a sign of spiritual renewal and universal participation in the crusade even before *Quia maior*'s validation of the practice.[15] The preacher also clearly sought to reclaim the Joachite

imagery commandeered by the *pueri* and the recently condemned Amalricians, including the figure of the greening tree, the dawn of a final age where triumph over the forces of the Antichrist would come through spiritual men marked not by worldly power, but mental poverty and moral purity.[16] Drawing on prophetic literature and the appeals of *Quia maior* and other crusade bulls, he also called for the end of civil wars, clerical–lay conflict and the triumph of the spirit over the flesh within Christendom so that it might focus on its external enemy: the Saracens. Peace and personal and social reform were essential for the success of the crusade.[17]

Another dominant theme in the BnF 999 sermons is the necessity of reforming the secular clergy before all else so that they might set an example for the rest of Christendom in the fight against heresy and Islam, and redress the divine ire at sins that had resulted in the loss of the Holy Land and other external and internal threats to Christendom. For it was secular ecclesiastics who would be primarily responsible for the education of the laity through preaching and life example, and providing them with the sacraments essential to their salvation, for organizing the crusade and spiritually interceding for its success. While the efforts of the bishops of Paris, and the papal legates Guala de Bicchieri and Robert of Courçon, to hold provincial councils and synods to discipline ecclesiastics in preparation for the Fifth Crusade and the attempts of Cistercians and Paris masters to impose reforms upon clergymen in the Midi are well known, precisely how the sentiments expressed in legislation were conveyed to ecclesiastics through preaching remains largely unexplored.[18] The crusade appeals and synodal sermons of BnF 999 provide vivid evidence for how reformers including William of Pont de l'Arche, an archdeacon of Paris embroiled in recruiting for the Albigensian Crusade, sought to redress through preaching what he and others saw as the root cause of heresy and triumph of Islam: vitiated and negligent ecclesiastics.

A popular judge delegate and arbitrator who served with Robert of Courçon and Stephen Langton, William preached the Albigensian Crusade with Jacques de Vitry from 1211 onwards, and alternated between recruiting in northern France and acting as rector and engineer for troops in the Midi. He not only created a confraternity dedicated to building and maintaining siege engines in Simon de Montfort's army, but, after turning down the bishopric of Béziers, was present with Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, then Bishop of Carcassonne, and Fulk, Bishop of Toulouse, at the Council of Pamiers (1212), where statutes were drawn up for Simon's new lands. In 1213, he served as

one of a team of messengers which brought a dossier from the Council of Lavaur to Rome, thereby successfully convincing Innocent III that the anti-heretical crusade was still necessary. He returned to Paris with the good news in 1213 and, together with many other Paris masters, continued to promote the anti-heretical crusade during a period (1213–14) in which many historians have claimed the Albigensian Crusade indulgence was officially suspended.[19] Papal bulls mentioning William as a master of theology together with Peter of Capua the younger and letters of Jacques de Vitry addressed to William and other Paris masters (describing the various heterodoxies James encountered in Italy and his new see of Acre) indicate that William continued to visit Paris until his election as bishop of Liseux in 1218.[20] At least three sermons from the BnF 999 manuscript may be securely attributed to him and an anonymous sermon by an archdeacon on the Invention of the Cross may also be his work.[21]

Taking as his theme the devastation of Mount Sion overrun by foxes, an image familiar among those combating heresy and used with effect by Innocent III in a bull summoning what would become the Albigensian Crusade and again in 1213 to describe the great council planned for 1215,[22] William urged his clerical audience to fight for faith and justice so that God would fight with them against their enemies. Savaging those who sold justice or its expediting as simoniacs and usurers, he urged prelates to be like pilgrims hastening to the eternal homeland in rejecting temporal concerns and possessions. Similar to many contemporary crusading appeals and synodal sermons, he attacked ecclesiastics' and scholars' rejection of theology in favour of secular learning, careerism and earthly possessions. Perhaps in response to the discovery of the Amalrician heretics in Paris (1210) and the critiques levelled against orthodox preachers in the Midi, he reminds the clergy that the effectiveness of their preaching depends entirely upon their knowledge of the scriptures and their good reputation (*fama*). It is their duty to rebuke sinners and save the perishing, yet their obsession with earthly things, lust and ambition means that like fetid, cruel and crafty foxes, they are vile in the sight of men and God. As the root of the church, they are so desiccated that their subjects the branches have withered as well, and cannot be revived until the clergy first regenerate themselves.[23] Another surviving sermon delivered on the feast of St Augustine (perhaps at Saint-Victor in Paris) reminds its clerical audience of their duty to preach to the laity. However, most prelates are negligent and bent upon the pursuit of earthly possessions. The

powerful of the world and their bailiffs extort possessions from the poor and devour the Lord's people like bread. They instead ought to tailor their preaching to the audience (subtler topics for the greater and *moralia* for lesser) and demonstrate its power through their deeds and thoughts.[24] His critiques embody the criticisms of the secular clergy prevalent among masters of Peter the Chanter's circle and their attempts to redress these problems and train more orthodox preachers through personal example and legislation (including Robert of Courçon's provincial council in Paris in 1213) prior to the Fourth Lateran Council.[25]

It is no coincidence that John of Abbeville's crusade appeal directly follows William's synodal sermon in the BnF 999 manuscript. Drawing on Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione* (which was later bound in the same manuscript as John's sermon),[26] Lamentations 5, papal bulls (including *Audita tremendi* and *Quia maior*) and the psalms mandated in the new liturgy instituted by Innocent III for the crusade (Psalm 78), John depicted the loss of Jerusalem and the pollution of the Holy Land as divine punishment for the sins of eastern and western Christians which continually recrucified Christ. The earthly Jerusalem would never be regained until the heavenly Jerusalem was attained through reform and penance. In a similar fashion to other BnF 999 sermons, John targeted the clergy as spiritual eunuchs who corrupted their subjects through their depraved life example, grew lascivious from their possessions and failed to generate spiritual sons. They abandoned the lawful spouse of theology for the whores and concubines of secular science, and despoiled the poor and widows whom they ought to protect. Living from calumny, rapine, usury and simony, they devoured the alms of the faithful whom they slew by their evil example. The many plans and labours of the church for the liberation of the Holy Land would never come to effect until they purged their sins through the three steps of penance, fasting and prayers, as had the Israelites who waged a divinely mandated war against the Benjamites guilty of defiling the Levite's wife. Then God would grant them spiritual and physical victory.[27]

John's paralleling of the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem recalls Innocent III's sermons at the Fourth Lateran Council, a council which many Paris masters involved in recruiting for the Fifth Crusade attended and viewed as the culmination of their efforts to reform the clergy and laity. This similarity led Penny Cole to date John's sermon after the Fourth Lateran Council (1216), but it is equally likely, as Nicole Bériou has suggested, that John preached his sermon in Paris

during Robert of Courçon's conciliar work in preparation for the Fourth Lateran Council, during intense recruiting for the eastern crusade (1213–15).[28] As a papal legate and crusade preacher working with Raymond of Peñafort in the Iberian Peninsula (1228–30), John would later emulate Robert's fusion of crusade preparations with vigorous attempts to reform local churches. He held provincial councils and synods to impose the Fourth Lateran Council's statutes and targetted, like Robert before him, concubinary, lavishly dressed, drunken, pluralist and non-resident secular clergymen in order to secure proper pastoral care and provision of the sacraments.[29]

Another surviving synodal sermon may be attributed to John's contemporary, Peter of Capua the younger (d. 1237), who remains routinely confused with his uncle of the same name, Peter of Capua the elder (d. 1214). A Paris-trained master who wrote a theological *summa* and a collection of distinctions titled the *Alphabetum in artem sermocinandi* (1193–1214), Peter the elder was legate for the Fourth Crusade (1198–1204), in which capacity he translated the relics of St Andrew from Constantinople to a new foundation of canons in Amalfi (1208), a translation later mentioned by Peter the younger's contemporary Jacques de Vitry in his *sermones de sanctis*.[30] His nephew Peter of Capua the younger was also a theologian in Paris (c. 1202–18) and a contemporary of John of Abbeville and William of Pont de l'Arche before his election as patriarch of Antioch (1219), a post Peter never filled, as he was instead retained by Honorius III in Rome as a cardinal.[31] Although there has been considerable disagreement even among experts as to the authorship of the works attributed to the two Peters, I will follow Werner Maleczek in attributing the *Alphabetum* to Peter the elder and Nicole Bériou in assigning the two sermons in BnF 999 labelled 'Peter of Capua' to the younger, as he was a theologian actively preaching in Paris at the time that the *reportationes* were being compiled.[32]

As did his colleague John of Abbeville, Peter the younger parallels the projects of the crusade and reform, the conquest of spiritual sin and material Saracens through exploring the literal (historical) and moral meanings of Edom and Sion, a technique utilized in contemporary *distinctiones* collections, including those of his uncle, Peter of Capua, and of Peter the Chanter.[33] Taking as his theme verse 'Let us rise up against Edom in battle and in Sion there will be salvation' (Obadiah 1:1), Peter the younger glosses Edom as sinners. Just as God sent a legate to command the Jews to rise up against the Gentiles who would not let the Israelites enter the Holy Land, so today

Christ like a prince and war-leader (*dux*) is signed with the cross and urges everyone to rise up against Edom in battle. Woe to those who refuse his summonses.[34] Calling his audience to repent from their sins, including pride and love of worldly things, he evokes the whore astride the apocalyptic beast and the Israelites crossing the Red Sea to urge his audience to be crucified to the world like Paul and eschew earthly things lest they be devoured by them. In a similar fashion to contemporary crusade appeals in BnF 14470 and the *Brevis ordinacio*, Peter portrays the world as the all-consuming beast of Apocalypse 13 composed of animals which represent various sins. Through contemplation of the cross, his audience can be lifted from earthly things and restrain fleshly concupiscence, thereby conquering the devil, the beast, Edom and Esau, and attaining salvation in Sion.[35]

Another anonymous sermon uses 'Blow your horn in Sion' (Joel 2:1) and Micah 3 to excoriate its ecclesiastical audience. Instead of rooting out vices with word and deed, ruling the people and doing justice, prelates and their ecclesiastical officials had become the root of corruption within the church. Attacking widespread corruption among those responsible for judging criminal cases and reconciling differences and discords, the preacher exhorts his audience to refuse all bribes and gifts. Echoing the sentiments of Jacques de Vitry, Innocent III, and Peter the Chanter regarding prelates who refuse to emend themselves and their lay subjects, he asserts that only those who actively rebuke avarice and corruption in others as well as themselves are worthy of promotion; otherwise they are mute dogs who refuse to bark. Rather than devouring or despoiling their flocks, priests and prelates ought to console and correct by useful teaching and life-example. Using the image of Aaron's rod as a mnemonic device, he urges priests to put behind them every carnal affect, do justice without exception, and eschew the flesh's desires and temporal gain. His audience ought to regain divine favour in battle through reform and repentance, prayer and fasting like the Israelites and their priests (Joel 2), yet instead nearly all priests and prelates are enemies of the cross of Christ, servants of the apocalyptic dragon, devoted to lust, gluttony, and earthly glory.[36]

The preacher reserves his most vitriolic rebukes for those who tainted the ministry of the altar. Since the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and most recently during the Albigensian Crusade and in the crusade bull *Quia maior*, the mass had become particularly central as a form of intercession for divine favour for the crusade and as a source of suffrages to fund the indulgences granted to its participants.[37] Drawing

on powerful pollution imagery familiar from contemporary reformers including Fulk of Neuilly, Robert of Courçon and John of Abbeville, who had attempted to enforce ecclesiastical celibacy and attack clerical concubinism in order to ensure the purity of the masses central to lay piety and crusade preparations, the preacher claims that through evil priests, the faithful city has become a vile whore populated by unclean people. Like Judas, they recrucify Christ every day through venal and unworthily celebrated masses. God despises their offerings because the body of Christ is desecrated and the Holy Spirit offended when a wretched priest comes unworthily to the altar. In the eyes of God and the laity, they are unclean vessels for the waste of avarice and lust, embracing whores not only in secret but even on feast days.[38]

The preacher also addresses two other issues central to contemporary anti-heretical and eastern crusade preparations: attempts to clamp down on usury and the abuse of the sacrament of penance so central to the crusade indulgence. He attacks priests and people alike as infected with avarice (Jer. 6:13).[39] Eager for gain or prestige rather than service to Christ, priests and prelates defend and excuse the sins of the greater and the lesser, as do the learned who defend every sin as 'custom'. They kill souls which are not dying when they excommunicate the innocent to extort money from them, and yet absolve and raise to life usurers dead in God's sight in return for donations. Yet, like the madman of the gospel who could not be restrained, corrupt prelates cannot be bound because they are unafraid of warnings, preaching and even excommunication. Using the image of Saul's unlawful election in Gabaah and that of the Levite's slain wife, he urges priests to teach and guard the people instead of invoking God's ire through their lust, pride, simony, disobedience, vainglory, pride and avarice. They ought instead to reform their lives to set an example to the people and, as their office requires, preach the power of God, the gospel and the cross on feast days and other occasions to strengthen the devout and rebuke the obstinate. Then, like the Israelites who praised God for rescuing them from their enemies at the Red Sea, they will be led from the shadows of sin through penance not to the earthly Jerusalem, like the Jews, but to the heavenly Jerusalem, the true Church.[40]

If these critiques of the orthodox clergy sound familiar, we ought to remember that many of the Paris-educated masters preaching the Fifth Crusade and their monastic collaborators had previously been involved in the suppression of heresy within northern France,

including Paris itself, and in the promotion of the Albigensian Crusade. Their concern for the reform of the secular clergy stemmed partly from this effort. Paris masters including Jacques de Vitry and William of Pont de l'Arche collaborated with Fulk, Bishop of Toulouse, and Guy, Abbot of Vaux-de-Cernay, in preaching the Albigensian Crusade. The nunnery founded by Fulk of Neuilly for repentant clerical concubines and prostitutes during his preaching of the Fourth Crusade was favoured by donations from Paris masters and many participants in the Albigensian Crusade, including Simon de Montfort and Robert Mauvoisin,[41] and precious evidence for contemporary sentiments regarding heresy and the anti-heretical crusade survives in a sermon delivered at St Anthony to a mixed audience in 1210.[42] This sermon is particularly valuable because almost no unretouched anti-heretical material survives from this period; virtually all anti-heretical treatises and sermons come from a much later date or the material has been substantially reworked. Daniel Powers has recently declared that no sermons promoting the anti-heretical crusade survive before the expedition of 1226 and yet both the BnF 999 sermon and many others like it preserved in BnF Lat. 14470 provide datable witnesses to anti-heretical propaganda in Paris in the early stages of the Albigensian Crusade, within the very timeframe during which many of the charters which Powers has so painstakingly unearthed were drafted.[43]

Taking as his theme the gospel of the day, which treats Christ's conversion of water to wine at the wedding of Cana, the preacher notes that Christ's presence at the wedding with his disciples and the Virgin Mary directly commended the honesty of marriage, which was instituted in paradise, in opposition to heretics who claim that no one can be saved in the married state. After urging his audience not to imitate worldly prelates and the scholars of Paris bent on fleeting riches, incomes, dignities and human favour even though they hear preaching every day, he exhorts them to emulate Job in embracing confession and penance. Like the regular religious, they ought to imitate Christ, who chose humility, cleanliness and poverty (defined as the necessities of life only). Savaging avaricious, rapacious, fornicating and simoniacal clerics, and those who refuse to believe anything concerning Christ or the Virgin Mary unless they can prove it by reason, prying into subtleties and secret mysteries rightly understood only by true faith, not their own *ingenium*, he also notes that some deride the honest faithful and those who live in humility, including humble crusaders. These are Christ's true heirs. Unlike spiritual eunuchs incapable of religious fecundity, the faithful imitate

Christ through contemplation of his salvific work, good deeds and confession, and so will enter paradise through the sacrifice of the pascal lamb.[44] The sermon must have appealed to the religious women of St Anthony, their crusading supporters and those ecclesiastics, many of them Paris-trained masters, who sought the powerful intercessions of the convent's members in the midst of the anti-heretical crusade, as they also did from the *mulieres sanctae* of the Liège region.[45] Certainly, Jacques de Vitry's *vita* of Mary of Oignies, dedicated to Fulk of Toulouse as anti-heretical crusade propaganda, recapitulates the main themes of the St Anthony sermons. While attacking corrupt ecclesiastics, James presents emulatory models of orthodox preachers and pastors, defends marriage and regular religion, devotion to the Virgin Mary and Christ, the Eucharist and penance, while countering detractors of the Albigensian Crusade and reassuring his audience that anti-heretical crusaders were true martyrs.[46]

References to heresy also suffuse a sermon of Peter of Capua to crusaders which takes as its theme the image of Christ as the true gardener and the verse 'Show me where you feed and where you rest at midday' (Song of Songs 1:6). Peter stresses that the fulfilment of this Old Testament prophecy in Christ's passion clearly confounds Manichean heretics who claim that there are two opposed principles: one of the Old Testament and one of the New. John the Baptist, Andrew and other Disciples of Christ clearly recognized Christ as fulfilling rather than abrogating Old Testament messianic prophecies. Those signed with the cross ought, like St Andrew, to follow Christ in joining themselves to God through love, separating themselves from temporal things, afflicting the flesh with its vices and desires, and being ready to endure anything, including death, in return for eternal life. Peter's invocation of the fall and salvation story and focus upon Andrew and other saints who had died upon the cross in imitation of Christ's own passion was common among crusade preachers, but the special place accorded to Andrew in Peter's sermon may also have stemmed from his uncle's recent translation of Andrew's relics from Constantinople to Amalfi (1208).[47] Christ has prepared the table of the cross, where saints including Peter, Andrew, Laurence and other martyrs who died on the cross in imitation of Christ sit and eat of the same dishes Christ prepared for himself, that is, obedience and the food of faith and salvation. Like them, the crusader ought to be fed by Christ's sacrifice through penance and the Eucharist. For Christ is the true doctor, a courtly lord at table offering various wines to his guests,

including grace, martyrdom and penance, the Eucharist, and the eternal blessings granted to martyrs and virgins in heaven.[48] In a similar fashion to the authors of the BN 14470 sermons and the *Brevis ordinacio*, Peter appears to have utilized a collection of distinctions, perhaps that of his uncle, for the imagery of the table (*mensa*).[49] Like Jacques de Vitry and other contemporary Paris masters and crusade preachers, Peter also directly countered 'heretical' doubts concerning the true presence in the Eucharist, now deemed an essential element of orthodox piety and crusade preparations, through a sophisticated treatment of the doctrine of substance and accidents.[50]

Another anonymous sermon urges an audience of potential crusade recruiters to be excited by the memory of Christ's passion to imitation of it through confession and mortification of the flesh and its vices. Then they can claim to carry the stigmata of Christ's suffering on their own bodies, unlike hypocritical preachers who like sterile fig trees recall Christ's passion in words but not works, papelards who cry '"peace, peace", when there is no peace', foster the evil in their sins and seek only praise. Christ paid mankind's debt, yet many are unmindful of his sacrifice. Instead, they ought to seek salvation by contemplating Christ's passion, a point that the homilist and many other crusader preachers drive home with multiple biblical references and similes. Although he urges his audience not to succumb to greed for possessions or place hope in mutable things, but rather live as pilgrims in this world, humble themselves and not fear vileness (*vilitas*) or the world's despisal, the preacher follows Peter the Chanter in noting that God did not forbid possessing riches, but rather loving them. Mental rather than actual poverty is what is required: a rich man can be poor in spirit if consumed by his possessions, while a pauper profits little from his impoverishment unless he spiritually embraces it. Just as grain must be threshed and winnowed before being stored, so man must confess, do penance and purge himself from venial sins before earning eternal blessedness.[51]

The sermon demonstrates the way in which Paris-trained masters, many of them secular ecclesiastics, were acutely aware of the challenges facing them as preachers and crusade recruiters, and of the necessity of creating an image of an orthodox reformer who could avoid charges of hypocrisy and peculation, and compete with the allure of roving *quaestores* and unorthodox and unauthorized preachers. In *Pium et sanctum* (1213), Innocent III himself urged crusade preachers to keep their entourages moderate and make careful records of the money they collected, perhaps in response to the

criticisms levelled at papal legates and preachers of the Fourth Crusade, including Fulk of Neuilly. So too the BnF 999 homilist urges his clerical audience to reform themselves and set an example by taking the cross before they demand the same of their audiences. Certainly we know many Paris masters entrusted with crusade recruiting potently combined reform with crusade preaching. Some, as had Fulk of Neuilly, took the cross themselves and many fulfilled their vows, including Peter Nemours, Bishop of Paris, Robert of Courçon, Jacques de Vitry, Oliver of Paderborn and William of Pont de l'Arche. Some, including many otherwise little-known Paris masters mentioned in the letters of Jacques de Vitry and contemporary chroniclers, paid with their lives, including Robert of Courçon and his nephew, Alexander. The sermon harmonizes too with the image of the ideal preacher presented in Jacques de Vitry's letters regarding the Fifth Crusade addressed to the masters of Paris and the model of Fulk of Neuilly presented in his *Historia Occidentalis*. In contrast to *quaestores* and heterodox preachers, the ideal Paris preacher reproaches vices without fear, dresses as a secular ecclesiastic should (shunning ostentation yet respectably), uses horses and mules where necessary, and accepts food, gifts and money from his audience under careful parameters.[52]

The author of another anonymous sermon to crusaders uses professional imagery of a doctor, fuller and farmer to compare the hearts of his audience to the Holy Land. Just as the latter was physically affected by Christ's passion, so, through meditation on Christ's passion, his audience's hearts ought to be moved to manifesting its effects in good works.[53] Invoking a verse popular with crusade recruiters, 'Place me like a sign upon your heart, like a sign upon your arm' (Song of Songs 8:6),[54] he, like the author of the *Brevis ordinacio*, calls his audience to use the 11 stages of Christ's passion as a mnemonic and meditative device to guide their spiritual conversion. The sermon may have been directed to the cloistered, perhaps as an attempt to explain the benefits of the crusade, including the new taxes imposed for it at the Fourth Lateran Council, to those already supposedly engaged in pursuing the spiritual Jerusalem. The preacher urges his audience to serve God in the cloister and not wander forth. Like Christ and the good thief, they may be despised and derided by the world because of their humble and abject status, yet unlike simoniacs, they willingly take up their crosses and crucify themselves by rejecting the world, embracing discipline and suffering, and purging themselves of love for worldly possessions. Christ's suffering

should spur them on to the three steps of penance through which they can conquer avarice, lust and pride (the obverse of monastic poverty, chastity and humility) as the crucified Christ did through his nakedness, extended arms and bowed head. Unlike the blood of Abel, which cried out for vengeance, that of Christ cries out for pardon, which will be bestowed upon those faithful to him; they must persevere in the hope of posthumous eternal reward.[55]

As Penny Cole noted in her groundbreaking survey of crusade preaching, the language of penance became a dominant theme in crusade preaching during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[56] Two contemporary sermons on penance preserved immediately before the sermon to crusaders described above illustrate just how easily penitential conversion harangues could be transformed into crusade appeals. The first penitential sermon calls its mixed audience, envisaged as prone to the sins of the rich and powerful, to repay Christ's sacrifice like good debtors, by emulating his humility, poverty and hardship through embracing mental poverty, hard beds and Lenten fasting to win spiritual victory.[57] Another urges its audience to emulate Christ by crucifying the flesh with its vices and desires. Job on the dung heap serves as a metaphor for the steps of penance: true contrition over sins, fulfilling one's enjoined penance, ridding oneself of superfluous temporal possessions through almsgiving and severing one's mind from delight in sin and desire for worldly things. Like Peter of Capua's sermon to crusaders above, the preacher presents various tables from which the sinner ought to eat: preaching, good works (to counteract the pursuit of worldly joys) and the Eucharist. Like the Hebrews in Egypt who prepared for the first Passover, the sinner ought to gird up his loins, following the saints in practising continence rather than incontinence, take up the staff of good works, look to the future life rather than this one and eat the bitter herbs of penance. Penitents must guard against recidivism and the forfeiture of their eternal reward, as happens when some conceal their sins in confession and pretend to be good when they are not, when the tepid fail to shun their former sins and when others fail to fulfil their penance strenuously.[58] As Jacques de Vitry's sermons to those taking the cross and crusader-pilgrims demonstrate, these penitential themes could easily be applied to the crusade through paralleling historical, spiritual and physical journeys and victories, and presenting the crusade as a unique embodiment of many forms of particularly efficacious penance: bodily hardship, pilgrimage, vigils, fasting, almsgiving and martyrdom.[59]

Likewise, although the image of the Maccabees was a popular one in papal bulls and in later model sermons to crusaders, another anonymous sermon on the crusade is unusual in its overt fusion of spiritual and physical warfare, crusade and reform, through the sustained invocation of the vision of a horseman dressed in white carrying gold weapons which appeared to Judas Maccabeus and his army after they appealed for divine aid against Lysais's siege of Jerusalem.[60] In a similar fashion to the eagle in Hosea, the devil is ready to oppress the house of God because of the faithful's violation of their covenant with God. However, like the eagle in the fable of the wren, he may be conquered by the humble and modest whose life is hidden from the world (*conversatio*) and is in the heavens. Similar to Judas Maccabeus, his audience ought to trust that God can defeat many with few and either literally go up to Jerusalem or, with strong and true confession as their leader and the vision of Christ clothed in virtues with the weapons of good works and spear of the Holy Passion, conquer the devil with his army of vices and attain the true spiritual Jerusalem.[61] As did the exhortations delivered to armies of the Fifth Crusade and by Jacques de Vitry to pilgrim-crusaders, the preacher urges his audience to combat cupidity, incontinence (*luxuria*) and pride by recalling Christ's poverty, his crucifixion and the Last Judgment. Heliodorus being struck by a spectral horse while pillaging the Temple in Jerusalem was used as a mnemonic device to contrast good priests, who flee riches and worldly wisdom and, by preaching, convert many to God, with the avaricious bent on collecting incomes and preferment. Shifting to feudal imagery, the preacher notes that Christ the heavenly horseman will bestow upon his *familia* and the elect *milites* the same clothing of virtues which he himself possesses (*miseria*, *benignitas*, *dignitas*, *pietas* in almsgiving, humility, modesty, patience, charity and cleanliness). Clothed in this Pauline spiritual armour and strengthened by the memory of the passion of Christ and sign of the holy cross, they can proceed to Jerusalem, triumph over the vice-ridden (symbolized as men, wild beasts and iron walls) and earn an eternal reward.[62] Oddly, apart from the siege of Alcácer do Sal in Portugal, accounts of the Fifth Crusade largely lack the Maccabean imagery (including visions of white-clad heavenly armies) which coloured accounts of previous crusades. Several clerical accounts of the Fifth Crusade claim that when the captured defenders of Damietta's chain tower were interrogated by Leopold of Austria, they reported being blinded and overcome by an army of white-armoured *milites* led by red *miles* (interpreted by some crusaders as St

Bartholomew leading a heavenly army to assist the crusaders). Yet despite being willing to report heavenly apparitions during crusade recruiting and noting that the chain tower's capture took place on St Bartholomew's feast day (accompanied by processions and liturgy), the Paris-trained Oliver of Paderborn credited the victory to the bravery of the Frisians and Germans he had recruited. His history instead blamed the army's ultimate military failure on their lack of the Maccabees's purity, drive and trust in God.[63]

Innocent III's two surviving sermons to the assembled Fourth Lateran Council, envisaged as the culmination of his plans for crusade and reform, likewise evince a cross-fertilization of ideas with the synodal sermons and crusade appeals delivered in Paris. This should come as no surprise. Innocent had studied in Paris and was influenced by the cries of Peter the Chanter's school for social and spiritual renewal, including a focus on the Eucharist and confession for the laity, and the reform of clergy (including attacks on corruption, pluralism, concubines and lavish lifestyles). His sermons to the Council echoed the sentiments of many Paris masters who attended it, including Stephen Langton, Robert of Courçon, Jacques de Vitry, Oliver of Paderborn and Conrad of Speyer, all of whom Innocent had hand-picked to preach the Fifth Crusade. Many of these men had also been involved in the promotion of the Albigensian Crusade and various reform efforts, including attempts to renew or replace the clergy in the Midi and elsewhere to counter heresy. When opening the Council, Innocent used the triple pasch (physical, spiritual and eternal) to call his audience to free Jerusalem, reform themselves and thereby attain eternal glory. Invoking images of the defilement of Jerusalem/Sion (Lamentations 1), he urged his audience to repent of their sins and imitate Christ by crucifying themselves to the world and fleshly desires. Christ's patrimony has been lost because of the sins of the West, primarily those of the clergy whose evil example and negligence had corrupted the laity. Like the man clothed in linen in Ezekiel 9 who set a tau upon the foreheads of the elect, he as pope and they as prelates had the duty to address clerical and lay corruption, including the vitiated consumption and consecration of the Eucharist which called down divine judgment on the unworthy, schism, heresy and the abuse of the sacrament of penance and ecclesiastical excommunication.[64]

Addressing the same council in session, Innocent summarized the harangues of the BnF 999 sermons by reiterating that the clergy must combine learned preaching with an upright life. Rejecting vice,

ignorance, negligence and concupiscence, they ought to correct others, lest they be found to be mute dogs afraid to bark. Using the image of the preacher as a trumpet (Isaiah 58:1), he urged prelates not to abstain from correcting their subjects out of fear or avarice (that is, lest they lose tithes and offerings).[65] They must guard themselves against concupiscence for money (avarice) and for women (lust), lest they be like the priests in Micah who were judged for taking bribes. Similar to the anonymous synodal sermons in BnF 999, he stresses that ecclesiastics may possess riches, but must not place their hearts in them. In order for their prayers to be heard, they must maintain pure and contrite hearts and celebrate mass properly or they will eat and drink judgment on themselves.[66] Both the BnF 999 sermons and Innocent's appeals were clearly intended to guide prelates entrusted with combining the enforcement of the Fourth Lateran Council's reforming statutes with various roles in preparing for the new eastern crusade, including paying crusade tithes, gathering donations, preaching and organizing intercessions.

In conclusion, the crusade appeals and synodal sermons preserved in BnF 999 provide crucial evidence for how Paris masters envisaged the call for the Fourth Lateran Council and the new crusade as a mandate to test-drive the reform of the clergy and laity through their commissions as preachers and through the provincial councils and the disciplinary actions of Robert of Courçon and the bishops of Paris held in preparation for the upcoming ecumenical council, which adopted many of their ideas. The surviving sermons of William of Pont de l'Arche reflect his and other Paris masters' preaching during the Albigensian Crusade and mirror the agenda of key reforming councils held in the Midi, including Lavaur and Pamiers. Ideas were transferred from campaign from campaign as individuals were moved from the preaching of the Fourth to the Albigensian and Fifth Crusades, and through their common training in Paris. In fact, the continuity of preaching and exchange of information, shared tools (sermons, *summae*, *distinctiones*) and training made the message of Paris-trained preachers appointed by Innocent III perhaps more consistent than that of previous crusade campaigns in its stress on penance, the Eucharist, the cross, and the reform of the laity and ecclesiastics, as is evidenced in the common themes and imagery of the *Brevis Ordinacio*, surviving model sermons, the *reportationes* of BnF 14470 and BnF 999, and the writings of Jacques de Vitry.

The sermons of BnF 14470 and BnF 999 provide invaluable evidence for how Paris masters applied new tools developed for

preaching to the construction of crusade excitatoria. They illustrate how Paris masters coped with episcopal mandates to preach the anti-heretical crusade and, by 1213, special appointments as preachers for the eastern crusade and the papally mandated diocesan-based preaching of the crusade, complete with monthly processions, daily prayers in the mass and almsboxes instituted in every church. They also provide an invaluable snapshot of the preaching atmosphere in Paris c. 1210–20. The promotion of the eastern crusade clearly intersected with other concerns, including countering the threat of heresy manifested both in the Midi and the recently repressed Amalricians (1210) through effective orthodox preaching and military repression, channelling popular enthusiasm for the crusade (manifested in the *pueri*) into effective support for the crusade movement, and the conviction that reform of both ecclesiastics and laypersons through preaching, judge delegate work, and regional councils and synods was essential for the success of the crusade on all fronts. Moreover, the surviving appeals of Paris masters reflect current political and spiritual concerns, including the recent crusade of the *pueri*, the shadow of preparations for the great conflict which would peak at Bouvines in 1214 and a swirl of prophecies (Joachite and others) which viewed the coming last age of world as one in which the poor would triumph and redeem where the rich and powerful had failed. They also provide a glimpse into the self-image of the very reformers faced with crafting a credible and workable image of an orthodox preacher who disseminated correct doctrine to the laity and reformed himself to set a good life example in the face of heretical competitors, the same reformers who would be accused by contemporary ecclesiastical chroniclers of inciting anticlericalism by their attacks on corrupt ecclesiastics and indiscriminately giving the crusader's cross to all who desired it as a sign of conversion. Many of their efforts would be enshrined in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council and would impact the promotion of the crusade and pastoral work of their successors as masters and preachers in Paris, the mendicant orders.

Notes

1*Anatomy*, pp. 1–51. This chapter is dedicated to Jim's memory.

2Innocent also drew on members of the Praemonstratensian, Cistercian and Victorine orders.

3Jessalynn Bird, 'The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade: Two

Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 14470', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 48 (2004), pp. 5–28.

4Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole: la predication à Paris au XIII*e *siècle* (2 vols, Paris, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 58–70, 94–96, vol. 2, p. 676. I would like to thank Jean Flori for an offprint of an article by Christian Grasso which mentions the same manuscript, '*Ars praedicandi* e crociata nella predicazione dei *magistri* Parigini', in '*Come l'orco della fiaba': studi per Franco Cardini*, ed. Marina Montesano (Florence, 2010), pp. 141–50.

5Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. pp. 3–31.

6See n. 4 above. On Peter the Chanter's circle, see John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton, 1970), 2 vols; Jessalynn Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187 to c.1240' (unpublished DPhil dissertation, Oxford, 2001).

7BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 233ra–va. Compare *Brevis ordinacio*, in *QB*, pp. 3–26, here pp. 8–9, 11–12, 20–22, 25–26; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 1, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 82–99, here pp. 97–99; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 2, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 100–27, here pp. 125–27; *Quia maior*, *PL* 216:817–22. Typical wages for soldiers in Philip Augustus' army in 1202/1203 were 72 *deniers parisis* for knights, 36 *d.* for mounted sergeants, 48 or 54 *d.* for mounted crossbowmen, 12 or 18 *d.* for crossbowmen on foot and 8 *d.* for foot-sergeants. On Bouvines and its effect on crusade recruiting, see *Anatomy*, pp. 29, 39–40, 42, 75–76; John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 169, 215–19, 285–87, 450–53.

8BnF nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 233va–vb, 234rb–va.

9Ibid., fols 233vb–234rb.

10Jessalynn Bird, 'Jacques de Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims (*Sermones ad peregrinos*): A Recontextualization', *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association*, 25 (2008), pp. 81–113. For knightly culture, see Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 2009); and for merchant culture, Jessalynn Bird, 'Reform or Crusade? Anti-usury and Crusade Preaching during the Pontificate of Innocent III', in *Pope Innocent III and His World, ed.* John C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 165–87.

11BnF nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 233vb. See *Quia Maior*, *PL* 213:817–22; Christoph Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48 (1997), pp. 628–57; Bird, 'Victorines', p. 11; Gary Dickson, *The Children's Crusade: Medieval History, Modern Myth* (New York, 2007), esp. pp. 36–115. For an excellent overview of the topic, see now Cecilia M. Gaposchkin, 'From Pilgrimage to Crusade: Liturgy, Devotion, and Ideology, 1095–1300', *Speculum*, 88 (2013), pp. 44–79. For the role of liturgy during the Fifth Crusade in particular, see J. Bird, "Rogations, Litanies and Crusade Preaching: the Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century," in *The Papacy, Peace, the Crusade and Christian-Muslim Relations: Essays in memory of James M. Powell*, ed. J. Bird (Routledge, forthcoming).

12BnF nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 233vb–234rb. Compare Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 2, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 101–05, 125; Bird, 'Victorines', pp. 22–25; Jessalynn L. Bird, 'James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 25 (2008), pp. 81–113.

13BnF nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 234rb.

14Dickson, *Children's Crusade*, pp. 53–114.

15Bird, 'Reform or Crusade?' p. 181; Jessalynn Bird, 'Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath', in *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis, Atti del congresso internazionale, Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome, 2003), vol. 1, pp. 503–24. In contemporary collections of distinctions intended for preachers, *pueri* stood for the poor, the innocent and Christ, in contrast to the wealthy and powerful. See *Spicilegium Solesmense complectens scriptorium ecclesiasticorum anecdota*, ed. J.B. Pitra (Paris, 1855), vol. 3, pp. 112–13, 247–48.

16I am writing an article on Paris masters's use of prophecy in preaching the crusade. The image of the reviving dry tree featured prominently in legends of Alexander the Great, Prester John and the Holy Cross. The sermon's author may also have been referring to biblical imagery found in Song of Songs 7:8–9 and Ezekiel 17:24. The latter verse was used in an eschatological sense by Jacques de Vitry in a sermon for the military orders. Contrary to previous scholarly opinion, we now know that Joachite prophecies of a spiritual third age (including figures of trees) were familiar to Peter the Chanter's circle by the 1180s, were appropriated by the Amalrician heretics (condemned by Robert of Courçon and other Paris masters in 1210), and were known and utilized by Innocent III in the crusade bull *Quia maior* (1213). Innocent also thought well enough of Joachim to appoint him as preacher for the Fourth Crusade. See Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 86–87; Robert E. Lerner, 'Joachim and the Scholastics', in *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III*, *ed.* Roberto Rusconi (Rome, 2001), pp. 251–64; Robert E. Lerner, 'The Uses of Heterodoxy: The French Monarchy and Unbelief in the Thirteenth Century', *French Historical Studies*, 4 (1965), pp. 188–202; Elizabeth R. Brown, 'La notion de la légitimité et la prophétie à la cour de Philippe Auguste', in *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations*, ed. Robert- Henri Bautier (Paris 1982), pp. 77–110; Philippe Buc, *L'ambigüité du livre. Prince, pouvoir et people dans les commentaires de la bible au moyen âge* (Paris, 1994), pp. 163–5 and notes 94–96; Morton Bloomfield and Marjory Reeves, 'The Penetration of Joachism into Northern Europe', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), pp. 777–80; Marjory E. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Notre Dame, 1993), pp. 3–6, 12–15, 21, 25–36, 42–43; Gary Dickson, 'Prophecy and Revivalism: Joachim of Fiore, Jewish Messianism and the Children's Crusade of 1212', *Florensia*, 13/14 (1999–2000), pp. 97–104; Gary Dickson, 'Joachism and the Amalricians', *Florensia*, 1 (1987), pp. 35–45.

17BnF nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 234rb–va. In general, see *Anatomy*, pp. 1–106. I am writing an article on the peace-making activities of various individuals who preached the Fifth Crusade.

18For a summary of the literature, see Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade and Reform', pp. 31–119. Essential sources include: Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*; *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England, 1216–1218, ed.* Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 1996); M. Dickson and C. Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courçon: sa vie', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 9 (1934), pp. 53–142; Paul B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1216–1245: Watchmen on the Tower* (Leiden, 1995).

19For his judge delegate work, see Dickson and Dickson, 'Le cardinal Robert de Courçon', pp. 76, 78–79, 81–82, 135–40; *PL* 215: 791, 793; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, vol. 1, p. 26 and vol. 2, pp. 11 and 16, note 24 and pp. 98–99. For his work in the army, Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*, trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 1998), sects. 175–80, 188, 326–35,

341–51, pp. 93–96, 99, 157–59, 162–64. For recruiting, see ibid., sects. 285, 306, 310, 508, pp. 142, 150–51, 229–30; for Béziers, see ibid., sect. 366, p. 171; for Pamiers, Lavaur, Rome and Paris, see ibid., sects. 362–64, 370–411, 440–45, pp. 169–71, 174–89, 200–01. See also Bird, 'Victorines', pp. 10–11; and Jessalynn Bird, 'Paris Masters and the Justification of the Albigensian Crusade', *Crusades*, 6 (2007), pp. 117–55. For varying views on the suspension of the crusade indulgence, see Laurence W. Marvin, *The Occitan War: A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209–1218* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 163–65, 197, 205; Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 122–24, 126–28; Rebecca C. Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (Continuum, 2008), pp. 57–69.

20 In earlier articles, I erroneously conflated William's career with that of William of Nemours, Archdeacon of Paris and brother to Peter of Nemours, Bishop of Paris. Both I and the eminent Walter Wakefield also mistakenly described William of Pont de l'Arche as being elected Bishop of Meaux (1214–21). See Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (Berkeley, 1974), p. 98; Baldwin, *Philip Augustus*, p. 440; Bird, 'Victorines', pp. 10–11. For the letters, see *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain (Paris, 1889–1897), vol. 1, p. 85 (no. 27) and notes 1–4; Honorius III, Reg. vat. lat. 10, ep. 113, fol. 25r; *Lettres*, I and II, pp. 71–97.

21 Bériou, *L'avènement*, vol. 1, pp. 58–60; BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 168vb–169va, 244va–246vb, 265va–266va. Ibid., fols 244va–246vb.

22 Alberto Melloni, '*Vineam Domini* – 10 April 1213: New Efforts and Traditional *Topoi* – Summoning Lateran IV', in Moore, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 63–73. For anti-heretical rhetoric, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229* (Woodbridge, 2001); Bird, 'Justification', p. 137.

23 BnF nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 169ra–va.

24 Ibid., fols. 244va–246vb.

25 See n. 18 above.

26 Compare Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, 2.I.1–3, 3.V.19, 4.V.12–14, in *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*, ed. and trans. John D. Anderson and Elizabeth T. Kennan (Kalamazoo, 1976), pp. 47–50, 104–07, 123–28; Bériou, *L'avènement*, vol. 1, p. 58.

27 BnF nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 169va–170ra, edited in Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 222–25. See also note 25 above; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 1, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 84–89, 93–95; Brenda Bolton, '"Serpent in the Dust: Sparrow on the Housetop": Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Circle of Innocent III', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History*, ed. R. N. Swanson, SCH 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 154–80.

28 Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 150–51, 222–25; Bériou, *L'avènement*, vol. 1, p. 179.

29 A theology master influenced by the ideas of Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton, John Halgrin of Abbeville (c. 1180–1237) later served as a canon and dean of Amiens (1218–25) and nearly became patriarch of Constantinople (1226) before succeeding Oliver of Paderborn as cardinal-bishop of S. Sabina (1228–30). His writings include a commentary on the Song of Songs and four collections of sermons. For John's career and works, see Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali di curia e 'familiae' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254* (Padua, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 21–31; J. Ribaillier, 'Jean d'Abbeville', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 8 (1974), pp. 249–55; Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 22–53; Riccardo Quinto, *Stefano Langton (1228) e la tradizione delle sue opera: 'doctor nominatissimus'* (Münster, 1994), p. 28; Beryl

Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 265, 317; Beryl Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools, c.1100–c.1280* (London, 1985), pp. 121–22; Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols (Münster, 1973), vol. 3, pp. 510–66.

30 A contemporary of Prevostin of Cremona and Peter of Poitiers, Peter the elder was also acquainted with Robert of Courçon, Stephen Langton and the future Innocent III. Proposed as a candidate for the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1211, he was retained as a cardinal by Innocent III. For a masterful disentanglement of the two Peters and the closest we have to a biography of Peter the younger, see Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216: die Kardinäle unter Colestin III und Innocenz III* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 117–24; Werner Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus: Kardinal, Legat am vierten Kreuzzug, Theologe (1214)* (Vienna, 1988), correcting Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, 'The Schools and the Waldensians: A New Work by Durand of Huesca', in *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, ed. Scott L. Waugh and Peter Diehl, (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 86–111, esp. 86–87, 93; Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, '*Statum Invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham (Toronto, 1991), pp. 201–25; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, vol. 1, pp. 44–5 and vol. 2, p. 34, notes 343–44. James's reference to the relics' translation is not mentioned by any of the secondary literature, including the revised Italian version of Werner Maleczek's study of Peter of Capua. See Werner Maleczek, *Pietro Capuano: patrizio amalfitano, cardinale, legato alla quarta crociata, teologo (+ 1214)*, trans. Fulvio delle Donne (Amalfi, 1997); Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones de sanctis*, Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 503, fols 168v–173r.

31 Maleczek, *Pietro Capuano* (1997), pp. 285–88; Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus* (1988), pp. 281–83; *Chartularium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, vol. 1, p. 85.

32 See n. 29 above; Bériou, *L'avènement*, vol. 1, pp. 59, 178–79, vol. 2, pp. 681–82; Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus* (1988), pp. 236–45.

33 *Spicilegium*, ed. Pitra, vol. 3, pp. 291, 298, 304.

34 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 266va–vb.

35 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols. 266vb–267va; compare Bird, 'Victorines,' pp. 25–28; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 14–17.

36 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 193ra–195vb; *H.Occ.*, pp. 73–106. For mute dogs, see n. 65 below.

37 Christoph T. Maier, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade', in *Pope Innocent III*, ed. Moore, pp. 351–60; Bird, 'Justification', pp. 134–38; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, '*Inimici crucis*: la théologie de la croix et la persécution du catharisme', in *Autour de Montaillou, un village occitan – Histoire et religiosité d'une communaute villageoise au moyen âge*, ed. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (L'Hydre, 2001), pp. 283–99.

38 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 194va–vb. For attempts to restrain lay and clerical sexuality during crusade preparations, see Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade and Reform', pp. 31–85, 120–83.

39 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 194va. For contemporary campaigns against usury and concerns about indulgences and the sacrament of penance, see Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade and Reform', pp. 183–282; Bird, 'Reform or Crusade?'; and Bird, 'Indulgences'.

40 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 194vb–195vb; Bird, 'Justification'; Jessalynn Bird, 'The Wheat and the Tares: Peter the Chanter's Circle and the *Fama*-Based Inquest

against Heresy and Criminal Sins, c.1198–c.1235', in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Washington, D.C., 1–7 August 2004*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington, and Atria A. Larson (Vatican City, 2008), pp. 763–856.

41Simon's daughter Petronilla entered the convent in 1221, although Simon was familiar with its founder Fulk of Neuilly from a much earlier date through both men's involvement in the Fourth Crusade. The Mauvoisin family donated money for a chapel in 1211, Robert Mauvoisin was buried there in 1214 and his daughter Agnes later became abbess (1233–40). See n. 45 below.

42Bériou, *L'avènement*, vol. 1, p. 61.

43Daniel Power, 'Who Went on the Albigensian Crusade?', *English Historical Review*, 128 (2013), pp. 1047–85, here p. 1079. For a thorough examination of the Cistercian material, see Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and the Crusade*; and Uwe Brunn, *Des contestataires aux Cathares: discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition* (Paris, 2006). For Paris masters' thoughts, see Bird, 'Justification'; Jessalynn Bird, 'The Construction of Orthodoxy and the (De)construction of Heretical Attacks on the Eucharist in *Pastoralia* from Peter the Chanter's circle in Paris', in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller (York, 2003), pp. 45–61. For anti-heretical sermons dating from 1226 onwards by Paris-trained masters, see Nicole Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226', in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe–début XVe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 32 (Toulouse, 1997), pp. 85–109; Caroline Muessig, 'Les Sermons des Jacques de Vitry sur les cathares', in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc*, pp. 69–83; Christoph T. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48 (1997), pp. 628–57.

44BnF, nouv. acq. lat, fols 187ra–188ra.

45On crusaders as patrons of Cistercian nuns and St Anthony, see Ann E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Cornell, 2011), pp. 147–70; Constance Berman, 'Dowries, Private Income and Anniversary Masses: The Nuns of Saint-Antoine-des-Champs (Paris)', *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 20 (1993), pp. 3–12; Constance Berman, 'Cistercian Nuns and the Development of the Order: The Cistercian Abbey at Saint-Antoine-des-Champs Outside Paris', in *The Joy of Learning and Love of God: Studies in Honor of Jean Leclercq*, ed. Rozanne Elder (Kalamazoo, 1995), pp. 121–56; Hippolyte Bonnardot, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Antoine-des Champs de l'ordre de Cîteaux: étude topographique et historique* (Paris, 1882), pp. 2–3, 6–7, 18–21, 87–88; John Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 5, 102. For St Anthony and the preaching of the crusade, see Bird, 'Victorines'; Bird, 'Justification'.

46André Vauchez, 'Prosélytisme et action antihéretique en milieu féminin au XIIIe siècle: la vie de Marie d'Oignies (1213) par Jacques de Vitry', in *Problèmes d'histoire du christianisme*, 17 (1987), pp. 59–110; *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation, ed.* Anneke Mulder-Bakker (Leiden, 2007); Sarah Hamilton, 'The Virgin Mary in Cathar Thought', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56 (2006), pp. 24–49.

47BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 199va–200rb; compare Bird, 'Victorines', pp. 22–25; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 4–15, 19, 24; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos*, 2, ed. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 111; Bird, 'Heresy, Crusade and Reform', pp. 120–82; see also n. 30 above.

48BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols. 199va–200rb.

49See n. 47 above. Peter of Capua the elder's *Alphabetum* contains virtually all the main themes of Peter the younger's homiletic treatment of the table (*mensa*).

Excerpts on the topic *mensa* from the distinction collections of Peter the Chanter (*Summa Abel*) and Peter of Capua the elder (*Alphabetum*) were published in *Spicilegium*, ed. Pitra, vol. 3, pp. 213–14, 258–59. The version of the *Alphabetum* which I consulted in BAV, MS Lat. 1157, fols 96rb–97ra much more closely resembles his nephew's sermon than Pitra's extracts.

50 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. fol. 199vb; Bird, 'Construction of Orthodoxy'; and n. 37 above.

51 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 240ra–vb; compare Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 2, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 101–09. On riches and poverty, see Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, Merchants*, vol. 1, pp. 107–16, 261–311.

52 I am writing an article on the challenges faced by Paris masters in creating the image of an orthodox reform preacher. See Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, eps 1–2, pp. 71–97; *H.Occ.*, pp. 89–106; *Pium et sanctum*, *PL* 216:822–5.

53 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 240vb–241ra.

54 *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 22–23; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 185.

55 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 241ra–va; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 11–19; *Ad liberandam*, in Alberigo, pp. 267–71. For the blood of Abel and that of Christ, see Hugh of St Victor, *Quaestiones in epistolas Pauli*, q. 109, in *PL* 175:632.

56 Cole, *Preaching*, pp. 98–176.

57 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 238va–239ra, 239vb.

58 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fols 239vb–240ra.

59 Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 82–127; Bird, 'Pilgrimage'.

60 2 Maccabees 11:8–9; Hosea 8:1–2; BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 188ra–vb, here 188ra. For Maccabean imagery in crusade and reforming literature, see Nicholas Morton, 'The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), pp. 275–93, esp. pp. 287–89 and Nicholas Morton and Elizabeth Lapina, eds., *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Brill, 2016). For the Maccabees in crusade propaganda by other Paris masters, see *H.Or.*, pp. 100–02, 248 (*Audita tremendi* and the Heliodorus episode); *Lettres*, III and V, pp. 100, 116; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 1, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 95; Odo of Châteauroux, *Sermo in conversione sancti Pauli*, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 128–43, here p. 141 and *Sermo de invitatione ad crucem*, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 144–51, here pp. 145, 149–51; Gilbert of Tournai, *Ad crucesignatos et crucesignandos*, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 176–91, here pp. 183–85.

61 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 188rb–va.

62 BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 999, fol. 188vb; compare Bird, 'Victorines', pp. 25–28; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 2, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 123.

63 *QB*, pp. 76–77, 120–21, 144–45; Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 125–27; Hoogeweg, pp. 159–280, here pp. 181–86, 212–13.

64 *PL* 217:674–75, 677; compare Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad crucesignatos vel -signandos* 1, ed. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 84–99. Innocent also used other images common to crusade and reform preachers, including that of the Israelites girding up their loins and biblical verses including 'For me to live is Christ and to die is gain' and 'Far be it from me to glory save in cross of Christ' (*PL* 216: 674, 676–77).

65 *PL* 217:679–84; Keith H. Kendall, '"Mute Dogs, Unable to Bark": Innocent III's Call to Combat Heresy', in *Medieval Church Law and the Origins of the Western Legal Tradition: A Tribute to Kenneth Pennington*, ed. Wolfgang P. Müller and Mary E.

Sommar (Washington DC, 2006), pp. 170–78.

66 *PL* 217:682–84.

Part III

Egypt and the Holy Land

8The place of Egypt in the military strategy of the crusades, 1099–1221[1]

Alan V. Murray

When joyously describing the capture of Damietta by the armies of the Fifth Crusade on 5 November 1219, the German chronicler Oliver of Paderborn compared it with two earlier unsuccessful attempts by Christians to take the city: 'it was first besieged by the Greeks and Latins, who eventually left it; then by the Latins under Amalric, king of Jerusalem, who did not prevail; yet on this third occasion, the King of kings and Lord of lords delivered it to his servants: Jesus Christ, who conquers and reigns and rules'.[2]

The third occasion, for which Oliver's *Historia Damiatina* is the principal surviving narrative source, was only the second expedition formally constituted as a crusade to have been directed against Egypt. Indeed, as a result of the diversion of the ill-fated Fourth Crusade to Constantinople, it was the first one which actually reached its appointed goal. Yet Oliver's words show an awareness of much longer strategic engagement with Egypt on the part of the Christian powers of the Levant. In the period between the crusader conquest of Palestine in 1099 and the first two decades of the thirteenth century, Egypt grew in importance as an attractive and compelling strategic goal for both Western crusaders and rulers of the Frankish states in Outremer.

When Pope Urban II proclaimed his expedition for the liberation of the Holy Land at the Council of Clermont in 1095, Western Christians were aware of Fātimid Egypt as one of the two great powers of the Muslim world, but in the planning and preparations for the crusade, it was the Turks of the Near and Middle East on which their attention was exclusively fixed. The evidence of chronicles and early literary works suggests that the crusaders imagined a vast, powerful Turkish realm stretching from the shores of the Mediterranean to the near-mythical land of Khūrasan in the distant east.[3] This image did not quite correspond to the political realities of the day. The attempts of

the Great Saljūq sultans to wrest control of Syria and Palestine from the Fātimids during the final quarter of the eleventh century had caused much of the disruption to the religious and civil life of the Christian communities in the East that had led to Pope Urban's famous appeal, but by the time of the arrival of the crusaders, the interests of the Great Saljūq sultanate were fixed on its heartlands in Persia and Iraq and were largely concerned with its own succession disputes.[4] The more proximate areas of Syria, Palestine and *Romania* (the former Byzantine territories in Anatolia), which the crusaders hoped to liberate, were occupied by a series of Saljūq sub-kingdoms and Türkmen emirates, all of them far less powerful than their nominal Great Saljūq overlord or the other major power in the region, Fātimid Egypt.

The Fātimid caliphate extended over Upper and Lower Egypt, northern Libya, and Sinai, but by the time that the crusaders arrived in northern Syria, it had lost Jerusalem and the Palestinian interior to the Saljūqs, though it retained control of the coastal cities, notably Ascalon, Acre and Tyre. Yet Egypt remained the economic powerhouse of the medieval Muslim world. The annual inundations of the Nile normally brought forth enough grain to feed the large population, with sufficient surpluses for export, while fish from the great river and its Delta were another important source of food. The country produced flax and dyestuffs, which were used in the manufacture of textiles for both home consumption and export, while alum was another valuable product. Egypt's economic strength also derived from its position as a commercial intermediary. It was a conduit for slaves, gold and ivory from Sub-Saharan Africa, but its most significant economic role derived from the trade in spices, incense, cloth and other luxury goods originating from southern Arabia, the Indian subcontinent and the East Indies. These products were brought up the Red Sea to the port of Aydhab and were then transported by caravan across the desert to the Upper Nile, where they were loaded onto ships and taken by river to the ports of Alexandria and Damietta, there to be purchased by Italian merchants or traded for scarce raw materials such as metals and timber.

Despite the wealth of the territories and trade it controlled, the caliphate had some fundamental structural weaknesses. The Fātimid caliph or *imām* and his immediate supporters belonged to a relatively small group within the wider Muslim population which adhered to the Ismaʿīlī form of Shīʿite Islam. They formed a small minority in a country populated by a Sunnī Muslim majority, which also had

significant minorities of Coptic and Melkite Christians as well as Jews. The Fātimids were prepared to send Isma'īlī missionaries out from Egypt and lend support to Isma'īlī groups in Syria and Palestine, especially among the lower classes of Damascus and Aleppo, but such proselytizing and revolutionary activities were for export only. Any attempt to impose Shī'ite beliefs and practices on the majority Muslim population of Egypt would have produced hostile reactions and thus endangered the regime. The Fātimids relied on Shī 'ites to provide *qadīs*, propagandists, court officials and, most importantly, parts of the army, but their administration was mostly drawn from Sunnis, Copts and – increasingly by the beginning of the twelfth century – Armenians. The legitimacy of the Fātimid caliph derived from his proclaimed descent from 'Alī, husband of the Prophet's daughter Fātima, and unlike his 'Abbāsid rival in Baghdad, he held both religious and secular authority. However, by the late eleventh century, real power was exercised by the vizier (Arab. *wazīr*), who was effectively a kind of military dictator.

Alongside its bureacracy and religious establishment, the main support of the Fātimid regime was the army. In times of war it could invariably count on significant numbers of Bedouin tribesmen serving as auxiliary cavalry on horses and camels, but the settled Egyptian population had no military traditions. The standing army was a multi-ethnic force recruited from more warlike foreign peoples, who could be relied upon to support the regime in the event of any unrest among the native population. The most important part of the army in the eleventh century was the cavalry, which was recruited from Berbers, Greeks, Turks and Kurds. Under the Armenian viziers Badr al-Jamālī (d. 1094) and his son al-Afdal (d. 1121), there had been a considerable increase in the numbers of Armenian cavalry and infantry units, but the most numerous elements were the infantry corps recruited from black African slaves (*'abīd*). Their main purpose was to prop up the regime and they were isolated socially and often physically from the Egyptian population, which tended to look down on them.[5] Thus, despite the great wealth of the country, the Fātimid regime was unloved by the majority of its subjects and was dependent on diverse, unwieldy and sometimes fractious military forces.

I

The first contact between the First Crusade and the Fātimid caliphate occurred during the siege of Antioch in northern Syria during the

winter of 1097–98. The vizier al-Afdal sent an embassy by sea to Antioch in order to propose a common alliance against the Turkish powers of the Near East, evidently hoping to exploit the arrival of the crusaders to recover the interior of Palestine from the Saljūqs. A crusader legation in turn travelled to Cairo, but – probably while negotiations were still continuing – the Fātimids were able to seize control of the city of Jerusalem from its occupying force of Turks, installing their own garrison in the Tower of David.[6] The long delays occasioned by the siege of Antioch and the attempts by crusade leaders to establish control over Syria and Upper Mesopotamia may have led al-Afdal to believe that negotiations with the crusaders could be spun out to the advantage of the Fātimids. Yet one wonders whether the vizier really believed that the crusaders could be bought off with control of Syria alone; the many commercial contacts between Egypt and Italy must have made it clear that the ultimate aim of the crusade was the liberation of Jerusalem and the other holy places in Palestine. A second Fātimid embassy requested the crusaders to restrict themselves to Syria, offering to allow pilgrims access to Jerusalem, but these overtures were rejected. By the time that the crusade armies entered northern Palestine in the spring of 1099 a collision was inevitable. Al-Afdal had started to concentrate land forces and provisions at the port of Ascalon with the aim of intercepting the invaders as they advanced south along the coastal plain, while the Fātimid governor of Jerusalem expelled its Christian population in expectation of a siege.[7]

After their long delays in Syria, the crusade armies moved south surprisingly quickly, reaching the plains north of Ascalon in May 1099 before the ponderous Egyptian mobilization was complete. After arriving at Ramla in early June, the crusaders paused to rest, resupply and plan their next moves at a council of war. Jerusalem lay only two days' march to the east; one obvious course of action would be to march up into the Judaean highlands and attempt to take the city before it could be relieved by the pursuing Fātimid forces. While that course might avoid an immediate battle, it would surely entail the prospect of the crusaders themselves being besieged in Jerusalem once the Egyptian army arrived. Yet this was not the only option, and an alternative strategy was proposed by some of those in the council, whose opinions were summarized by the chronicler Raymond of Aguilers:

> Let us not march to Jerusalem now, but towards Egypt and Babylon; and if, by

> the grace of God, we should overcome the king of Egypt, we would gain not only Jerusalem, but also Alexandria, Babylon, and many kingdoms. For if we march to Jerusalem but have to abandon the siege because we fail to find sufficient water, we shall never prevail, whether now or later.[8]

This statement shows an appreciation of the military and logistical situation, correctly foreseeing that it would be difficult for a besieging army to secure sufficient water in the environs of Jerusalem. It also recognized that the wealth and military resources of the Fātimid caliphate were concentrated in Lower Egypt, particularly in the great metropolises of 'Babylon' (that is, the neighbouring cities of Cairo and Fustat) and Alexandria. According to the proposed strategy, Jerusalem could simply be left temporarily, since its garrison was too small to bother the crusaders; a successful attack into the Nile Delta could force the Fātimids to abandon Palestine and even bring about the possibility of further conquests in Egypt itself, although opposing voices argued that numbers were insufficient to hold on to any captured cities in Egypt.[9] In the event, the issue was decided primarily by religious sentiment and the crusaders marched inland to their long-sought goal, meaning that they were faced with the task of capturing Jerusalem before the Egyptian army could arrive to raise the siege.[10]

This desperate race against time also explains one of the most controversial events during the First Crusade. All sources agree that after fighting their way into Jerusalem on 15 July 1099, the crusaders began a massacre of its Muslim and Jewish inhabitants, which continued for several days. As some historians have argued, this was the customary fate of the populations of cities taken by storm rather than by surrender.[11] Yet the main reason for the slaughter was more probably to be found in the strategic predicament of the crusaders in the immediate aftermath of the capture of the city. By now, the much-depleted crusader army counted only a few thousand effectives and was heavily outnumbered by the approaching Fātimid forces. It was also confronted by a civilian population within the city itself which was equal to or even greater than its own numbers, which might be tempted to mount resistance as the Fātimids approached. The crusaders had no secure communications with the West or with Christian-held territories at Antioch and Edessa. Any expulsion of the inhabitants would have put great pressure on the supplies of food and water in the environs of Jerusalem, while providing the Fātimids with a large potential labour force which could be employed in a second siege. While much of the population was indeed cut down in the initial frenzy of the capture, the larger-scale, extended slaughter of the

following days was a cold-blooded attempt to remove this potential threat to the security to the crusaders and the limited resources available to them.[12]

Having secured Jerusalem, the crusaders needed to avoid being cut off from all communications; they thus followed the only conceivable strategy of marching down into the coastal plain in order to confront the Fātimid army and then consolidate possession of Jaffa and other ports where naval and military assistance from the West might be received. The greatly superior Fātimid forces were overconfident and disorganized, and on 12 August 1099 they were surprised and routed by the crusaders outside Ascalon.[13] The completeness of the victory and the vast plunder gained must have alerted many of the crusade leaders to the possibilities offered by Egypt as a future military target. However, the rivalry between Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Saint-Gilles prevented the capture of the town of Ascalon itself, thus leaving an important stronghold in Fātimid possession which would hinder attempts by the Franks of Jerusalem to attack Egypt for many years to come.

Between 1101 and 1105, the Fātimid caliphate was able to mount three more huge invasions of the newly founded kingdom of Jerusalem. The ethnic and social diversity of its armies meant that their diverse components lacked trust in each other and consequently failed to function together in an effective manner, and all of these invasions were eventually beaten back by the numerically inferior Franks. However, at the second battle of Ramla (1102), a Fātimid army succeeded in defeating the combined forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem and those which had arrived with the crusade of 1101, getting to within four kilometres of Jaffa; it was only repulsed after all available Christian troops had been scraped together.[14]

The apparently inexhaustable reserves of manpower available to the Fātimids and the existence of their forward base at Ascalon were probably the main reasons why King Baldwin I of Jerusalem (1100–18) did not take the offensive against Egypt itself after his victories in 1101–05, preferring to make use of the regular arrival of Italian fleets and forces of pilgrims to steadily reduce the cities of the coast, whose possession was essential for communications with the West and thus for the expansion of the new realm. After the first decade of the kingdom's existence, Baldwin and his allies had captured almost all of the cities which owed real or nominal allegiance to the Fātimid caliphate, leaving only Tyre and Ascalon holding out. It was only in the second half of his reign that Baldwin attempted an expansion into

the areas east and south-east of the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, marked by the construction of the castle of Montréal at the site of Shaubak in Idumea in 1116. By 1118, Baldwin was ready to carry out his first aggressive campaign against Egypt himself, leading an force which went as far as al-Farāma (the ancient Pelusium) on the coast of Sinai.[15] However, to judge by its numbers (just over 200 cavalry and 400 infantry), this campaign was something between a reconnaissance in strength and an extended *chevauchée* rather than an attempt to conquer any Egyptian territory, and it was abandoned when Baldwin fell ill and died. Despite its disheartening outcome, this adventurous sortie demonstrated to the Franks that there were sufficient sources of water for an army to cross the Sinai desert until it reached the eastern edges of the Nile Delta, an area of lagoons and small villages, where there were plentiful supplies of water, fish and other foods.[16]

The expedition of 1118 was an exceptional interlude in the policies followed by the early Latin monarchy of Jerusalem, which had other military and political priorities. Baldwin's three successors devoted much of their reigns to attempts to shore up the increasingly beleaguered principalities of Antioch and Edessa and, later, to expand Frankish control into the rich lands east of the River Jordan. The capture of the Fātimid city of Tyre in 1124 was not the outcome of royal policy, but an initiative of the barons of the kingdom in concert with the republic of Venice, undertaken while King Baldwin II (1118–31) was languishing in Turkish captivity. Naval power had made a major contribution to the Fātimid invasions of 1101, 1102 and 1105, with the Egyptian fleet carrying large amounts of supplies and material to support the land army.[17] However, in 1124 the fighting capabilities of the Venetian crews and ships destroyed most of the Fātimid navy, which had been sent to aid the encircled city. While these ships could be and were replaced, the capture of Tyre changed the balance of naval power in the eastern Mediterranean. The acquisition of this key port with its highly serviceable double harbour brought an immediate benefit to the kingdom in terms of the economic potential of the city and the pilgrim traffic it could support.

The Fātimid fleet, which unlike the army was largely crewed by native Egyptians, was limited in its operational range by the need to carry sufficient water for the rowers of its galleys; the longer that such ships remained at sea, the more pressing was their need to make landfalls in order to take on water. It was possible for the ships to sail across the open seas towards Cyprus and then turn east in order to target the main sea lanes used by the Christians, but this was a risky

strategy as it offered no opportunities to resupply until reaching the waters off hostile territory. In practice, the fleet generally sailed from its main base at Alexandria along the coasts of the Delta, Sinai and Palestine, resupplying at Damietta, Ascalon and any other friendly port to the north. The loss of Tyre thus significantly restricted the sailing range of the Egyptian fleet, leaving Ascalon as its furthest secure base on the Palestinian coast; while the city was well fortified, it was a poor substitute for the more northerly port, as it had no proper deep-water harbour facilities and only limited water supplies which were obtained from wells.[18]

The effects of the loss of Tyre for Egypt were dramatically demonstrated only two years later when the Fātimids sent a newly constructed squadron of some 20 galleys to raid the sea lanes and coasts of Palestine, a move which was evidently meant to show the Franks of Outremer that the Egyptian navy was still a force to be reckoned with, but the problem of sourcing sufficient water to sail up the coast of Palestine meant that it ended in pathetic fashion. After its water ran out, the squadron made a landfall on the northern border of the kingdom of Jerusalem; the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres describes how the Egyptian sailors came ashore in boats and frantically tried to fill buckets from streams and springs before they could be observed, but they were rapidly intercepted and driven off by the Frankish garrison and inhabitants of Beirut.[19] The Fātimids continued to send naval expeditions to raid Christian shipping and coasts, but these were less frequent and had effectively ceased by the end of the 1150s.[20] Although Ascalon continued to serve as an important naval and military strongpoint for the Fātimids, it presented more of a threat to the littoral and interior of Palestine than to Christian shipping. However, it was largely neutralized during the reign of Fulk of Anjou (1131–43), who oversaw the construction of a ring of castles and fortified villages around the town, which effectively ended the capacity of the garrison to mount raids into Frankish territory. The capture of Ascalon by the Franks under King Baldwin III in 1153 removed the last Fātimid base from Palestine and in the following years the leaders of the kingdom of Jerusalem moved from defensive to offensive policies with regard to Egypt.

II

By the mid-twelfth century, the Fātimid regime had become highly unstable as a result of rivalries and power struggles among its army

and bureacracy. In political and military terms, the Fātimid state was a shadow of its former self: in a geopolitical decline reminiscent of the Ottoman Empire in modern Europe, Egypt was the sick man of the Near East. It was ripe for conquest and several parties were interested in the spoils. It was probably during the reign of Baldwin III (1145–63) that the kingdom of Jerusalem was able to impose an annual tribute on the caliphate and, as we shall see, began to formulate aggressive plans.[21] A Sicilian fleet attacked the island port of Tinnīs in 1155. However, the main threat came from Nūr al-Dīn, the Turkish ruler of Mosul, Aleppo and, from 1154, Damascus, who clearly appreciated the instability of the Fātimid regime and the propagandistic possibilities inherent in a restoration of Egypt to the Sunnī allegiance of the ‘Abbāsid caliphate.[22]

A record of plans for the conquest of Egypt can be observed in a charter of Baldwin IIII from 1169, which records an earlier donation, probably made between 1157 and 1159. The lost original document granted to the nobleman Joscelin Pesellus and his heirs a fief bearing the service of 100 knights in Egypt along with money-fiefs drawn on the revenues of Acre.[23] These donations clearly anticipated the acquisition of Egyptian territory which, however, remained unrealized because most of Baldwin’s energies during the remainder of his reign were taken up with the defence of his own kingdom and the northern Frankish principalities against Nūr al-Dīn. Nevertheless, the 1150s and 1160s saw a major expansion of the south-eastern region known (not entirely accurately) as the lordship of Transjordan, with the construction of a massive new castle at Kerak east of the Dead Sea and a string of subsidiary forts all the way south to Aila on the Gulf of Aqaba. As the campaigns of Saladin would later show, these castles were insufficient to prevent the passage of large armies, but since they controlled many of the available water sources, they could be used to exact tolls from passing caravans. Frankish Transjordan thus effectively controlled not only the trade route between Egypt and Damascus, but also the *Darb al-hajj*, the route passing through the interior of Sinai to the Hijaz which was used by many Egyptians making the pilgrimage to Mecca.[24] It was the possession of these Transjordanian fortresses that would prove to be the sticking point in peace negotiations between Sultan al-Kāmil and the leaders of the Fifth Crusade at Damietta in 1219.[25]

The Frankish acquisition of Ascalon also opened up the direct overland route to Egypt. Some time previously, Baldwin III had constructed a new castle to the south at Gaza, and this was followed

by another new fortress further south at Daron by his brother Amalric. By the time of William of Tyre, the south-western limit of the kingdom was fixed at the small settlement of El ‘Arish on the edge of the Sinai desert.[26] These developments meant that within a decade or so of the capture of Ascalon, the kingdom’s south-western frontier had been advanced towards Egypt by a distance of some 120 km. El ‘Arish was little more than a border post, but it was used in subsequent years as a mustering point, and from there it was only 160 km to Lake Tinnīs (now Lake Manzalah) at the north-east of the Nile Delta. An army could traverse this distance carrying all the food it required, but finding sufficient water on the way. In 1169 Frankish forces reached al-Farama after only nine days’ march.[27] In the previous year, King Amalric had reached Bilbeis in the Delta in ten days.[28]

King Amalric (1163–74) launched five separate invasions of Egypt, two of which involved combined land and naval operations.[29] Although none of these seems to have been formally proclaimed as a crusade, they would bring important intelligence for later expeditions, as well as providing a precedent for the future constitutional position of Egypt if it were to come under Christian rule. At first, Amalric seems to have intended to exploit Egyptian weakness by extorting financial concessions from the Fātimid vizier, Shāwar, who was threatened by a rival party as well as by Nūr al-Dīn’s general Shirkūh.[30] This intervention led to the Nile Delta becoming a battleground between the Franks and a Turkish-Kurdish army, each supported by local allies. The Franks had a poor opinion of the Fātimid soldiery, whom William of Tyre refers to as ‘the worthless and effeminate Egyptians, who were a hindrance and a burden rather than a help’.[31] By 1167, the Franks had withdrawn, having imposed a tribute, but from this time their strategy seems to have changed. Rather than persisting in trying to shore up the tottering Fātimid regime, they now aimed to conquer Egypt themselves before it could fall into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn, and to this end a new alliance with Byzantium was concluded.[32] This change of policy produced a reversal of alliances in which Shāwar was obliged to accept the protection of an army led by Shirkūh and his nephew Saladin.

The expenses of repeated campaigns and the prospect of the Fātimid subsidies drying up meant that King Amalric needed to offer significant inducements to his military supporters, and a large proportion of these consisted of grants of territories and revenues which anticipated the Frankish control of Egypt. The most detailed disposition is to be found in a royal charter of 1168, which granted to

the Order of the Hospital the entire city of Bilbeis and its revenues up to the total of 100,000 bezants, together with money-fiefs amounting to 5000 bezants each in ten other named cities. The order was also entitled to the second-best residence in each of these places. Not all of them can be identified with certainty, but they reveal ambitious designs. They included Fustāt and the Delta ports of Alexandria, Damietta and Tinnīs, which were all within a reasonable reach of Christian land and sea forces, but also Qus, Aswan and possibly even Aydhab, all of which lay in Upper Egypt.[33] These extensive grants were given in exchange for the provision of 500 knights and 500 Turcopoles in a forthcoming campaign. A force of this size would probably equate to the greater part of the Hospitallers' military strength and since the order needed to maintain garrisons in Palestine, it is likely that it would have had to hire mercenaries for the duration of the campaign. However, even the 1,000 soldiers provided by the Hospitallers could only have been a fraction of the total required for the conquest and garrisoning of Lower Egypt, let alone the other places mentioned in the grant. It is likely that it is only because of the survival of the Hospitallers' archives that we know most about grants to the order, and many similar concessions must have been made to the nobility of the realm in order to raise the requisite forces.

It was the seizure of Egypt by Shirkūh and Saladin in 1169 that brought forth the greatest of Amalric's efforts against Egypt. Two high-level delegations were sent to Europe with letters requesting assistance from the Holy Roman emperor, the kings of France, England and Sicily, and the counts of Champagne and Flanders and others. While the West showed little interest, Amalric found a willing ally in Emperor Manuel Komnenos, who agreed to support the campaign with a Byzantine fleet.[34] However, the king evidently did not wish to be wholly dependent on the Byzantines, since in mid-September he promised the city of Pisa commercial quarters in Cairo and Fustāt as well as trading privileges in the Delta ports. These extensive concessions can only have been given in exchange for naval assistance.[35] Grants of land and revenues in Egypt were also made to the nobility of Jerusalem, such as that made to Pagan, the lord of Haifa, which confirmed the concessions to his father-in-law made in the time of Baldwin III, while other concessions were given to religious institutions such as the abbey of Jehosaphat and the Order of the Hospital.[36] The charter for the Hospitallers confirmed the earlier grant of Bilbeis and specified that its Christian population (of whatever nationality) would be given their freedom, which can be

implied as indicating that the Muslim population would be kept in a state of servitude. Amalric's various grants suggest that he intended a permanent incorporation of at least part of Egypt into the kingdom of Jerusalem, a precedent that would still have been known to Jerusalemite leaders at the time of the Fifth Crusade.

The campaign was launched in mid-October 1169 with the Byzantine fleet sailing from Acre and land forces marching from Ascalon, meeting at al-Farama. In all, it took 11 days to reach Damietta. The mechanics of transport show us some of the new developments that had taken place in shipping by the late twelfth century. As well as galleys and sailing ships, the fleet included a number of specially constructed vessels (known as *ussiers* or *taurides*) which were used to transport horses. These ships had sophisticated technical apparatus to keep the animals secure, enabling them to be transported over far greater distances and for far longer periods than had been possible at the beginning of the century. They also had ports which enabled the horses to be led out easily.[37] This technological development meant that Western armies could be transported by sea, secure in the knowledge that they could employ the favourite tactics and the main status symbol of the knights, even though in the event more fighting was done on foot. The Christian forces suffered greatly from counter-attacks by the Ayyūbid troops who were now firmly established in Egypt, and the siege of Damietta ultimately failed when the supplies of the Byzantine fleet gave out and many vessels were destroyed by fire-ships sent out by the defenders.[38]

The campaign of 1169 was the best-prepared and best-supported attempt to conquer Egypt since the inception of the crusades, and in many ways it resembled the strategy of the Fifth Crusade. The Fourth and Fifth Crusades could hope to count on a much greater involvement from the West, but by this time the conquest of Egypt had become considerably more difficult. When he succeeded his uncle as vizier, Saladin extinguished the Fātimid caliphate and restored Sunnī rule. He disbanded the Fātimid army, replacing it with his own forces of Turkish and Kurdish mamlūks and Türkmen cavalry, and reorganized the Egyptian navy. He was soon able to take the offensive against the kingdom of Jerusalem, capturing Darum, Gaza and Aila. His seizure of Muslim Syria from the Zangid heirs of Nūr al-Dīn transformed the geopolitical situation, enabling him to move large forces between his two main dominions and attack the kingdom of Jerusalem from the south-west, the south-east and the north-east, a strategy which eventually brought about his victory at the Horns of

Hattin and the conquest of the kingdom in 1187.

III

The main aim of the Third Crusade (1189–92) was to recover Jerusalem and Palestine, yet it spent almost two years besieging the port of Acre, which held out until July 1191, after the growing crusader naval forces had prevented any supplies or reinforcements reaching Saladin's troops in the city. By November 1191, King Richard the Lionheart was attempting to interest the Genoese in sending a fleet against Egypt the following year.[39] Nothing came of this initiative, but as the crusaders advanced down the coast, Richard, who was the most competent general in the army, became more convinced of the advantages of attacking Egypt rather than attempting to recapture Jerusalem. The Ayyūbids' control of southern Palestine meant that they could move troops and munitions between Egypt and Syria far more easily than at any time in the past, and Richard was particularly struck by the wealth of caravans that the crusaders observed (and sometimes intercepted) travelling from Egypt. In the summer of 1192 Richard established a commission of 20 notables to decide whether the crusaders should proceed to Jerusalem, Egypt, Beirut or Damascus. It recommended Egypt as the most advantageous course, but the mass of common crusaders (particularly the French) would not countenance any goal other than the Holy City.

While the Third Crusade and the expedition launched by Emperor Henry VI in 1197 left Jerusalem in Ayyūbid hands, subsequent Christian strategy identified Egypt as the economic powerhouse of the Muslim world and concentrated on delivering a knockout blow that would bring the Ayyūbid (and later the Mamlūk) regime to its knees, thus paving the way for a restitution of the Holy Land to Christian control. Richard the Lionheart intended to lead a new crusade, and it is likely that his strategic thinking informed the planning for the Fourth Crusade before his unexpected death in 1199.[40] Yet the change to Egypt as the main goal brought out an underlying dichotomy between military strategy and the religious motivation of the majority of crusaders. During preparations for the expedition, the crusade leaders decided to keep their goal a secret, not only for security, but also because they knew that the rank and file would be disappointed if the crusade did not take them to the Holy Land.[41] The secret was not well kept and the large numbers of crusaders who preferred to make their own way to Palestine rather than assembling at the official

mustering point of Venice only aggravated the financial deficit which effectively handed the direction of the crusade to the Venetian Republic.

The change of strategy coincided with a shift from landborne to naval crusades that was already evident during the Third Crusade, when most armies travelled by sea. The collapse of Byzantine power in the face of pressure from the Turkish emirates of Anatolia and a resurgent Bulgarian kingdom meant that land armies could count on less logistic support in friendly territory and faced longer marches through hostile territory. Yet the increasing involvement of Western monarchies in crusading and the development of dedicated crusade taxation provided greater possibilities for the construction or hiring of fleets. It is telling that all crusades directed to Christendom's eastern front from 1197 until the late fourteenth century chose to proceed by sea rather than land.[42]

The Franks of Jerusalem also had an appreciation that naval forces could be used to relieve Ayyūbid pressure on their much-reduced kingdom. A fleet had been sent to raid the Delta in 1204 and one of the first acts of John of Brienne, who became king in 1210, was to despatch another fleet under the constable, Walter of Montbéliard, which raided the coast around Damietta.[43] Another reason why naval power was becoming more important for crusaders was that by the time of the Fifth Crusade, the practicalities of moving troops from Palestine to Egypt were much more difficult than in the time before the great defeats of 1187. King Amalric had been able to muster his troops and advance from El 'Arish. However, by 1217, the nearest Christian bases which could be used to support an advance into Egypt were situated in the territory to the south of Acre, approximately 200 km further back along the coast of Palestine. It was now far less feasible to send a land army over this distance, since this would entail major difficulties of supply and risk attacks by Ayyūbid forces in Palestine as well as in Egypt itself. This explains why during the Fifth Crusade, all of the Western crusaders, the troops of the military orders and the feudal levy of the kingdom of Jerusalem were transported to Egypt by ship. The carrying capacity of the Western fleets can be seen in the large quantity of siege equipment that was conveyed to Damietta. Egypt had a notorious lack of raw materials such as timber and metal, and there was little prospect that siege machinery could be constructed from materials sourced locally. Saladin had ordered the destruction of orchards outside Damietta precisely to reduce the supply of timber available to besiegers, and a repetition of such an

action would be an obvious move for the defenders in 1218.[44] Given such conditions, ships themselves were adapted to function as siege machines. During the Fifth Crusade, we hear of the crucial role played by vessels which were provided with additional constructions such as bulwarks or were mounted with projectile weapons. Ships could thus be transformed into highly mobile siege equipment, and even vessels which were wrecked or destroyed by enemy projectiles still constituted a valuable source of timber, nails and rope which could be reused to construct new machinery. Several of the contingents may have brought spare anchors and supplies of rope.[45]

With the various naval contingents departing at different times from places of origin as far apart as Italy and Scandinavia, the only feasible manner of coordination was to assemble fleets and troops in the Christian-held territory of northern Palestine. Such a plan would also accommodate the religious desires of many crusaders who wished to worship at well-known holy sites or at least strike a blow for the recovery of the Holy Land by attempting to recapture some of the key fortifications in Ayyūbid hands. Thus, much of the period 1217–18 was spent campaigning in northern Palestine and Lebanon. Although the surviving evidence from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 mostly talks of the liberation of the Holy Land, formulations in the letters of Jacques de Vitry and the chronicle of Oliver of Paderborn suggest that it was agreed that this goal could best be accomplished by an attack on Egypt. Jacques de Vitry regarded Egypt as the wealthiest land in the East, from which the Muslims drew their greatest power. Although the intended strategy of the Fourth Crusade had never actually been executed in the event, it was still evidently believed to be valid and workable. However, the pope and his advisors did not attempt to determine the military strategy of the Fifth Crusade, which was only decided in detail by a council of the Christian leaders held at Acre in early 1218.[46]

It is not immediately obvious why the Fifth Crusade was directed towards Damietta rather than Alexandria or another port. Powell suggested that Damietta was more accessible and closer to Cairo, and also offered the safest line of retreat.[47] It is true that the Franks of Outremer may well have preserved knowledge and even personal experience from the time of the Jerusalemite-Byzantine attack on Damietta in 1169; certainly, this is implied by a brief passage in Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*.[48] Yet King Amalric's troops had also reached Alexandria; this port was well known to sailors and merchants from the Italian naval powers, and would have been a

greater prize than Damietta in economic terms.

Powell's point about accessibility needs to be expanded, because it was not purely a matter of distance. In the Mediterranean Sea, the prevailing winds blow from the north and north-west. The main currents on the northern edge of the sea flow from east to west, but west to east along the entire southern edge. These factors combined to make voyages from west to east relatively swift and easier to navigate, but those from east to west were difficult and time-consuming, particularly since the normal sailing season in the Mediterranean lasted only from March until October.[49] Ships going from Palestine to the West normally did not sail across the open sea (other than the stretch of water from the mainland to Cyprus), but tried to hug the coasts of Syria, Anatolia and Greece in order to make use of the northern current. Sailing from Palestine to Egypt was a different matter. Ships leaving the south-facing harbour of Acre were frequently confronted by strong winds from the west and north-west, and we can see some of the difficulties of navigation illustrated during the beginning of the campaign to Egypt.[50] It had been decided to assemble the fleet at a point off Château Pèlerin, situated between Haifa and Caesarea.[51] The ships of King John of Jerusalem, Leopold VI of Austria and the military orders caught a favourable wind which took them to Damietta in only three days. However, the vessels of some of the other leaders were delayed by six days, and many were either driven back into Acre or tossed around on the sea for several weeks.[52] Similarly, most of the Byzantine fleet returning home after the siege of Damietta in 1169 had been wrecked because of adverse winds.[53]

Most of the voyage from Acre to Damietta was in a north-to-south direction and skippers could hope to make use of the northerly winds. However, any additional stretch from Damietta westwards to Alexandria would mean sailing against the prevailing winds and currents. This voyage would also have involved sailing past the two main mouths of the Nile which debouched at Damietta and Rosetta (mod. Rashīd) and were notoriously difficult to navigate.[54] All this would not only make the voyage more arduous, but would have also increased the likelihood of ships being blown off-course or wrecked. While Alexandria had a sheltered, deep-water harbour, its geographical location was less favourable for an invading army, as it was situated at the western edge of the fertile Delta area, bordering on the Libyan desert.[55] This meant that there were few sources of food or water to the west of the city. Indeed, the large population of Alexandria could not be adequately fed by the produce of its environs,

and in times of peace it relied on deliveries of grain and other foodstuffs brought by ship from further south.[56] In the event of a prolonged campaign, therefore, any besieging army would be restricted in the extent to which it could live off the land.

There was a relatively safe anchorage at the port of Tinnīs, situated on a small island to the east of Damietta, but the Ayyūbids had progressively run down this port in favour of Damietta. In November 1218 the crusaders sent out a reconnaissance party in small boats, upon whose arrival the garrison fled. By this time, most of Tinnīs was in ruins apart from the citadel, and its position in the middle of a lagoon made it less suitable as a base for an advance into the interior.[57] Damietta would prove much more difficult to capture, but it presented other advantages. It was situated amid fertile countryside in all directions, with plentiful cereal plantations, orchards, pastures and fisheries. It thus offered more favourable foraging conditions for an army whose only secure sources of supply were several hundred kilometres across the sea.[58] Oliver of Paderborn tells how after the capture of the city, the crusaders scoured the surrounding countryside to the distance of a day's march to bring back oxen, horses and captives. A force of Templars advanced as far as the town of Burullus to the west, returning after two days with 'about one hundred camels and as many captives, horses, mules, oxen, asses and goats, clothing and much household furniture'.[59] Thus, in terms of the two key logistic criteria of transporting the crusade army and planning for its supply, Damietta was clearly a preferable target to Alexandria, while its more central location also held out the prospect of an advance to Bilbeis, Cairo and the other glittering prizes of Babylon. As Jacques de Vitry expressed it, Damietta was 'the key to all Egypt'.[60] One can well understand the exultation and wonder at its capture in a statement by Oliver of Paderborn which was clearly inspired by a biblical passage whose main themes are Christian suffering and submission to God:

> Damietta! Renowned among kingdoms, most famous in the pride of Babylon, mistress of the sea, plunderer of Christians, taken by the ascent of your persecutors with a few small ladders, now you are 'humbled under the mighty hand of the God'.[61]

Notes

1 In keeping with the character of the keynote lecture on which it is based, this chapter presents a broad survey which is intended to provide a wider context to the military strategy pursued by the Fifth Crusade. For the geography, society and economy of Egypt of the period under discussion, it draws primarily on the

following works: Paul E. Walker, 'The Fātimid State, 969–1171', in *The Cambridge History of Egypt, I: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 151–74; Yaacov Lev, 'Army, Regime, and Society in Fatimid Egypt, 358–487/968–1094', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19 (1987), pp. 337–65; Yaacov Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden, 1991); Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999); Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999); Michael Chamberlain, 'The Crusader Era and the Ayyūbid Dynasty', in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, *I*, pp. 211–41; John P. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile: Route, Navigation, and Landscape in Islamic Egypt* (Cairo, 2014).

2 Hoogeweg, pp. 226–27: 'A Grecis et Latinis primo obsessa fuit, qui ab ea defecerunt, deinde a Latinis sub Amalrico rege Jerosolimitano, qui non profecerunt, hac vice tertia Rex regum et Dominus dominantium servis suis eam tradidit, Jhesus Christus, qui vincit et regnat et imperat, qui sementis irrigua siccavit Egyptiis, qui confudit operantes sericum et bissum, plectentes et texentes subtilia.' Translations of passages from Oliver's *Historia Damiatina* in this chapter are by the author and thus show some differences from the version published as 'The Capture of Damietta', trans. John J. Gavigan, in *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1229*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 1971).

3 Alan V. Murray, 'Coroscane: Homeland of the Saracens in the Chansons de Geste and the Historiography of the Crusades', in *Aspects de l'épopée romane: Mentalités – Idéologies – Intertextualités*, ed. Hans van Dijk and Willem Noomen (Groningen, 1995), pp. 177–84.

4 David O. Morgan, *Medieval Persia, 1040–1797* (London, 1988), pp. 28–33, 41–46; Sergei G. Agadshanow, *Der Staat der Seldschukiden und Mittelasien im 11.–12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1994).

5 Yaacov Lev, 'Infantry in Muslim Armies during the Crusades', in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 185–207.

6 Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, 'Relations between Muslim and Frankish Rulers 1097–1153 A.D.', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 190–214, here pp. 192–96.

7 For the military context, see John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 325–66.

8 Raymond of Aguilers, 'Raimundi de Aguilers canonici Podiensis Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem', *RHC Occ.*, 3, pp. 231–309, here p. 292: 'Non eamus ad praesens in Iherusalem, sed versus Aegyptum et Babyloniam; et si, per Dei gratiam, superare possumus regem Aegypti, non solum Iherusalem, verum etiam Alexandriam et Babyloniam et plurima regna obtinebimus. Quod si eamus in Iherusalem, et non invenientes sufficientem aquam deseramus obsidionem, nec hoc nec illud postea perficiemus' (my translation). The translation given in Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 115, is, to my mind, less accurate.

9 Raymond of Aguilers, 'Raimundi de Aguilers', p. 292.

10 John France, 'The Crisis of the First Crusade: From the Defeat of Kerboghah to the Departure from Arqah', *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), pp. 276–308.

11 Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades*, 3 (2004), pp. 15–75, here p. 65; France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 355–56.

12 See especially the report of a council of war given by Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, 2 vols (Oxford, 2007), pp. 440–41. For analysis of the strategic situation, see Alan V. Murray, 'The Demographics of Urban Space in Crusade-

Period Jerusalem, 1099–1187', in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin, 2009), pp. 205–24; and Alan V. Murray, 'The Siege and Capture of Jerusalem in Western Narrative Sources of the First Crusade', in *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Luis García-Guijarro (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 191–217. On the problems of supply, especially the scarcity of water, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 334–35.

13 France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 360–65; Claude Gaier, 'La valeur militaire des armées de la Première Croisade', in *Le Temps des croisades*, ed. Stéphanie Ratz and Emmanuel Closset (Brussels, 1996), pp. 57–84.

14 Chamberlain, 'The Crusader Era and the Ayyūbid Dynasty', pp. 211–41; Michael Brett, 'The Battles of Ramla (1099–1105)', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Daniel De Smet (Leuven, 1995), pp. 17–39; Michael Brett, 'The Muslim Response to the First Crusade', in *Jerusalem the Golden*, pp. 219–34.

15 Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), pp. 88–91.

16 On water supplies in northern Sinai, see Lev, 'Infantry in Muslim Armies during the Crusades', pp. 185–206.

17 Jean Richard, 'Les bases maritimes des Fatimides, leurs corsairs et l'occupation franque en Syrie', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, II, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Daniel Desmet (Leuven, 1998), pp. 115–29.

18 John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 117–18; Yaacov Lev, 'The Fatimid Navy, Byzantium and the Mediterranean Sea, 909–1036 C.E./297–427 A.H.', *Byzantion*, 54 (1984), pp. 220–52. The poor quality of the harbour at Ascalon was commented on at the time of the Third Crusade: *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), p. 286.

19 Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, pp. 115–16.

20 Richard, 'Les bases maritimes des Fatimides', pp. 126–27.

21 William of Tyre reports the Egyptians refusing to pay the tribute at the beginning of the following reign (1163): WoT, ch. 19.5, p. 870.

22 Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, p. 53, coins the phrase 'the Sick Man on the Nile'.

23 Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Ein Deperditum König Balduins III. von Jerusalem als Zeugnis seiner Pläne zur Eroberung Ägyptens', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 36 (1980), pp. 449–566; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem (Diplomata Regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum)*, 4 vols (Hanover, 2010), no. 340, pp. 588–90. This diplomatic edition (henceforth cited as *D. Jerus.*) replaces the calendared documents given *RRH*; a concordance between the two can be found at *D. Jerus.*, pp. 1809–12.

24 Paul Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, vol. 2: *La Défense du royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1939); Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šōbak): Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1990).

25 Hoogeweg, pp. 222–23; *Anatomy*, pp. 159–60.

26 WoT, ch. 21.19 (20), pp. 987–88.

27 Ibid., ch. 19.14, p. 883, ch. 20.14, pp. 927–29.

28 Ibid., ch. 20.6, pp. 918–19.

29 There was also an attack on Alexandria by the Sicilians in 1174; given the poor

relations between the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily, this campaign was probably not coordinated with the strategy of the Jerusalemites, but rather was an opportunistic attempt to take advantage of Egyptian weakness.

30There is insufficient space to discuss these complex events in detail. A good summary is given in Chamberlain, 'The Crusader Era and the Ayyūbid Dynasty', pp. 213–16.

31WoT, ch. 19.25, p. 898: 'Egyptis vilibus et effeminatis, qui potius impedimento et oneri essent quam utilitati.'

32WoT, ch. 20.4, pp. 915–16.

33*D. Jerus.*, no. 336, pp. 578–82, no. 341, pp. 591–95.

34WoT, ch. 20.12, pp. 925–27.

35*D. Jerus.*, no. 343, pp. 596–99.

36*D. Jerus.*, no. 340, pp. 588–90, no. 341, pp. 591–95, no. 342, pp. 595–96.

37WoT, ch. 20.13–14, pp. 926–29; John H. Pryor, 'Transportation of Horses by Sea during the Era of the Crusades: Eighth Century to 1285 A.D.', *Mariner's Mirror*, 68 (1982), pp. 9–27 and 103–25; John H. Pryor, 'The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships and Horse Transports Revisited', *Mariner's Mirror*, 76 (1990), pp. 255–74.

38WoT, ch. 20.14–17, pp. 927–34; *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin by Bahā'al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 45–46.

39Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, 3 vols (Rome, 1936–42), 3, pp. 19–21.

40Vincent Ryan, 'Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade', in *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 3–13.

41Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (London, 1963), pp. 34–36.

42The Crusade of Nicopolis (1396) consisted of Western and Hungarian land armies, but by this time the Muslim threat (the Ottomans) had advanced as far as the Danube.

43Guy Perry, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 56.

44Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, p. 166.

45Hoogeweg, pp. 179–82, 211–13.

46*Lettres*, pp. 100, 102; Hoogeweg, p. 175.

47*Anatomy*, p. 138.

48 *La Traduction de l'Historia Orientalis de Jacques de Vitry: Edition, introduction, notes et glossaire*, ed. Claude Buridant (Paris, 1986), p. 94.

49Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, pp. 1–7, 12–24, 90.

50Ibid., pp. 3–7.

51Hoogeweg, pp. 175–76.

52Ibid., pp. 176–78.

53WoT, ch. 20.17, pp. 933–34.

54John P. Cooper, '"Fear God, Fear the Bogaze": The Nile Mouths and the Navigational Landscape of the Medieval Nile Delta, Egypt', *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 24 (2012), pp. 53–73.

55WoT, ch. 19.24, p. 896; Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, pp. 201–3.

56WoT, ch. 19.26, pp. 901–02.

57Cooper, '"Fear God, Fear the Bogaze"', p. 69; Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, pp. 214–20.

58Hoogeweg, p. 226; 'Gesta crucigerorum Rhenanorum', in *QB*, p. 39: 'Damiata, id est, omnium civitatum Egypti domina, in ripa Nili iuxta mare magnum in insula immo superflorida est sita. Hec pratis semper virentibus, hortis ac pomeriis, palmis & arboribus nobilissimis iocundatur.'

59Hoogeweg, pp. 252–53.

60*Lettres*, p. 119: 'Optenta autem a nostris civitate Damiate, que clavis est totius Egypti …'

61Hoogeweg, pp. 228–29: 'Damiata! inclita in regnis, famosa multum in superbia Babylonis, in mari dominatrix, Christianorum spoliatrix, in ascensu persecutorum tuorum per paucas et modicas scalas comprehensa, nunc humiliata es sub potenti manu Dei.' Cf. 1 Peter 5:6.

9The indigenous Christians of the Ayyūbid Sultanate at the time of the Fifth Crusade

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Introduction

The era of the Crusades is most often portrayed as a great struggle between Christendom and the Islamic world. A more nuanced view, however, quickly demonstrates that this is a gross simplification.[1] Latin Christians were all too often at variance with Christians of the Byzantine Empire, which had both fought with and interacted with the Islamic world for nearly 500 years by the time of the First Crusade.[2] The lands of the Eastern Mediterranean were, indeed, extremely diverse, with a population of Sunni Muslims (Arabs, Turks and Kurds), Shī'ite Muslims (and derivative Ismaʿīlis, Nuṣayrīs and Druze), Jews (Rabbanites and Karaites), Samaritans and, of course, Christians.[3] Of these latter, there were nine different indigenous Christian confessions that the Crusaders would have encountered: Melkites,[4] Georgians,[5] Maronites, Armenians, Syrian Orthodox,[6] Copts, Nubians, Ethiopians[7] and East Syrians.[8] These groups were spread across the Ayyūbid Sultanate (1171–1250) and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, but were concentrated especially in northern and coastal Syria, in Palestine and in Upper Egypt.[9] At the time of the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), many of these *ahl al-kitāb* ('People of the Book') or *ahl al-dhimma* (protected 'People of the Covenant'), although officially second-class citizens, were prospering and even experiencing something of a literary and artistic renaissance.[10] The effects of the Fifth Crusade were particularly grave for the Coptic Christians.[11] This chapter will briefly examine the nine indigenous Christian confessions present in Greater Syria (*Bilād al-Shām*) and Egypt at the time of the Fifth Crusade, before examining the effects of the Crusade upon the Christians of Egypt.

Although by the time of the Fifth Crusade the Latin Kingdom had existed for over a century, it was only around this time that the Franks displayed a particular interest in the specific theological tenets that

distinguished each confession.[12] This was due mostly to the new ecclesiastical emphasis of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), who sought to bring all Christians throughout the world under his authority.[13] Innocent's vision was most notably carried out in the Levant through the efforts of the newly consecrated Bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), who arrived for the first time in Acre in 1216. Jacques preached throughout the Latin kingdom, actively engaging Oriental Christians by preaching in their churches and asking about their theological stances. His reports are quite interesting, but it is questionable whether he always accurately understood their theology and whether his sources were fully forthcoming or were themselves biased. Nonetheless, of the confessions which he discussed, nearly all – excepting the Copts – were based in Greater Syria, which included the Frankish principalities.[14] Although the Ayyūbid Sultanate was often more of a confederation of feudal princes than a centrally controlled empire, events in Egypt all too often affected the peoples of Palestine and Syria.

Dhimmīs and Ayyūbids

Jerusalem is the holiest city for Christians and a prime example of the mosaic of Middle Eastern Christianity during the early Ayyūbid period prior to the Fifth Crusade.[15] Although Saladin expelled the Frankish residents and Latin clergy (at least those who could pay the required exit fees) in 1187, he allowed the indigenous Christians to remain. They agreed, in return, to again fall under the status of *dhimmīs*.[16] This term designated their position as protected – albeit second-class – citizens within *Dār al-Islām*. Their rights and protection were theoretically guaranteed by the state, but in return they were faced with numerous restrictions, including being required to pay a special poll tax (*jizya*), to disarm completely, to not build new churches and to seek permission before repairing established ones. They also had a lesser testimonial status before the law. In practice, of course, the Islamic state's interest in supporting its non-Muslim population varied by ruler, geography and period, as did its enforcement of these restrictions.[17]

A key distinction between the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids was that the former were minority Shī'ites (specifically Ismaʿīlis) and generally sought the goodwill of other minorities within their domain so as to bolster their own position.[18] Saladin, founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty, was himself very pious and intent on firmly re-establishing Sunni

Islam within Egypt. This included enforcing the sumptuary laws upon the 'People of the Book' whilst also insisting upon their protection, a policy generally followed by his successors.[19] During the Fifth Crusade, it was al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–38) who, upon the death of his father al-Malik al-ʿAdil (1200–18), bore the brunt of the struggle against the Franks. Although life for the indigenous Christians was quite difficult during the Fifth Crusade and they were forced to pay extortionate taxes, they generally were treated quite well by this generous and even sympathetic sultan.[20]

Of the nine Christian confessions living in the Ayyūbid Sultanate at the time of the Fifth Crusade (Melkites, Georgians, Maronites, Armenians, Syrian Orthodox, Copts, Nubians, Ethiopians and East Syrians), the Copts and the Melkites were most affected by the arrival of the crusaders. The focus of this chapter will be on these two confessions, but it ought to be noted that all were affected by the conflicts between the Franks and Ayyūbids to a greater or lesser degree.[21]

Although it is important to note these various Christian communities within the Ayyūbid Sultanate as a whole, it is true that at the time of the Fifth Crusade, their presence within Egypt proper was minor at best. The Melkites (Greek Orthodox) were the second-largest Christian community after the Copts, but even they were but a significant minority. They were called *al-Rūm* (from the Greek ρωμαίοι) in Arabic and were often confusingly called 'Syrians' by Frankish writers. They looked to the Byzantine emperor as the ultimate human arbitrator of their Confession, but spoke Arabic and were culturally of *Dār al-Islām*. Elsewhere in Ayyūbid domains, they were dominant amongst Christian communities within Palestine and prominent in northern Syria and Cilicia. Although discriminated against by the Franks, in many ways the Melkites prospered due to Byzantine imperial patronage in the twelfth century.[22]

In Egypt, their significance lay primarily as the representative body of the Byzantine emperor and thus the hierarchs were often utilized on diplomatic ventures to Constantinople. Conversely, during periods of persecution or intense restriction within Egypt, the Byzantine emperor would often send envoys to intercede with the sultan on behalf of the Melkites. Very often, however, the Melkite patriarch lived out his reign in Constantinople, whether by choice or necessity. The *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* relates that at the time of transition to Ayyūbid rule, the Melkites were greatly abused by the Kurds and their allies 'on account of [their] weakness and small

numbers'.[23] Like the Copts, the Melkites too suffered from apostasy and the loss of properties. Even though individual bishops might do their duty and try to protect their flock, the Melkites were still at a disadvantage.[24] When Saladin ended the persecution instigated early in his reign, the Copts were able to rebuild and repair many of their churches, but the much smaller and poorer Melkite community was unable to reclaim its churches and thus those buildings were permanently lost.[25]

At the beginning of the Fifth Crusade, the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem ordered that pilgrimage to Jerusalem be suspended temporarily due to the outbreak of war.[26] Travel was dangerous, but for the indigenous Christians, even staying stationary could be devastating, as they were often caught in the middle of the Frankish and Muslim campaigns. The Melkites in Palestine, where their population was more numerous, encountered the crusader army of King Andrew of Hungary in 1217. Returning from a battle, this army stopped in the village of Raḥar near Acre, where the king asked the local Christian leaders ('Melkites and Syrians') to nurse back to health four injured knights. When the army left, the Muslim residents rose up and killed these knights, while the Christians (who had not disclosed that there were Muslims in the village) were 'unable to prevent them through fear of the Sultan'. The king came back with his army upon learning of this and proceeded to exterminate the entire village, reportedly ripping open the belly of the village priest. They also enslaved nearby inhabitants to carry off the villagers' property and provisions back to Acre.[27] The tenuous position of the Melkites as co-religionists with the Franks yet culturally identifying with the Muslims was clearly difficult, especially during periods of warfare.

Melkite monasteries in Egypt included the famous monastery of St Katherine on Mount Sinai, the monastery of St John the Dwarf (Dayr al-Khaṣīr) and a women's monastery in Babylon (Old Cairo), where they also had several churches.[28] Contemporaneous to the Fifth Crusade, a bull of Pope Honorius III dated 6 August 1217 was issued to the abbot of the monastery of St Katherine confirming and guaranteeing its properties and rights. Besides its property on Mount Sinai, *metochia* and other properties were located across Egypt, Palestine and newly conquered Latin territories in the Aegean.[29] The Melkites also had two churches and a bishop in Damietta, which was testament to their strong presence there at the outbreak of the crusader siege.[30]

Almost uniquely for the Orthodox, the archbishop of the monastery

of St Katherine maintained good relations with Catholic Rome throughout the crusader period. Indeed, the Coptic *History of the Patriarchs* does, at times, seem to implicate its often-bitter rival – the Melkite Church – in collusion with the Franks. An event in 1210 is recorded of a Frankish raid landing near the Melkite monastery of Jeremiah along the coast not far from Damietta. While not stating outright that the monastery was involved, neither does it say that any of the monks were harmed – unlike everyone in the surrounding villages.[31] During the crusader siege of Damietta in 1218, the *History* records that Muslims 'used to spread evil reports about them, that they loved the Franks, and that they acted according to their law in the arrangement of the hair and the omission of circumcision'. It is suggested that this was to extract more money from the Melkites.[32] It is known that the Melkite Patriarch Nicholas (c. 1209–43)[33] was in correspondence with Pope Innocent. On one occasion, Nicholas was asked to look after the spiritual welfare of Frankish prisoners, which was a highly unusual request in the midst of the usual Roman–Byzantine tensions. Another letter attributed to Nicholas, dated to 1223 but demonstrably a forgery by a Frankish prisoner in Egypt, gave his submission to papal authority and pleaded for a new crusade to help the Eastern Christians.[34] Despite a cordial correspondence between the patriarch and pope, it is unlikely that the Melkite laity or hierarchy were sympathetic to Frankish designs of conquest, regardless of Coptic suggestions that this was the case. Beyond the Greek hierarchy, the clergy and laity were Arabic-speaking and part of the Egyptian cultural milieu.

There was some intermingling of Melkite and Coptic laity, and perhaps this occurred more frequently than is described by the brief texts that refer to them. For example, we are told that at one point the Melkite bishop of Miṣr began to visit a certain monastery annually during Lent 'together with a great number of Melkites and Copts who assemble to hear the Lenten charge, and the instructions which are given them as to what must be done during that season'.[35] The laity, then, sharing similar joys and problems, perhaps left the more intricate details to the church hierarchy.

The Copts, or *al-Qibt*, were (and are) the largest Christian confession in Egypt, and the Coptic Church was, in effect, the national Church of Egypt from the Muslim conquest onwards. Some scholars argue that they may still have been a majority of the Egyptian population until the middle of the fourteenth century, but it is enough to say that they were at least a very large minority and any political

power derived from Muslim authority.[36] Although the majority of Copts were poor farmers, others were merchants, artisans and – most important for their medieval history – secretaries or scribes (*kuttab*) in the governmental departments (*dīwāns*), especially those of finance (*dīwān al-māl*) and the army (*dīwān al-jaysh*). These secretaries were often quite wealthy and influential with the sultan and with many *amīrs*.[37]

Some scholars have referred to the early and mid-thirteenth century as the 'golden age'of Coptic-Arabic literature and the arts. This was triggered by a realization from the eleventh century that the majority of the Coptic laity were losing or had lost their knowledge of the Coptic language and were becoming *Arabized*.[38] In effect, these scholars made Arabic accessible for Egyptian Christians and Christian theology, and not only for Islamic theology. The movement featured significant contributions in the fields of universal histories, civil and canon law, Coptic language, biblical commentary and translation, philosophy and theology.[39] There was also significant activity and a general prosperity at Coptic monasteries during the middle Ayyūbid period. This included building projects in the Wādi al-Natrūn and an iconography programme at the Monastery of St Anthony by the Red Sea.[40] There was also a very active iconography studio in Cairo, most likely ecumenical in nature and employing Syrian Orthodox, Armenian as well as Coptic artisans. Often they utilized Byzantine models for their work, thus disseminating Byzantine designs throughout Egypt.[41]

At the outbreak of the Fifth Crusade, the Coptic Church was without a patriarch, as Pope John VI (1189–1216) had died in 1216. Rival factions within the Coptic community appealed to al-Malīk al-Kamīl, then governor of Egypt, and his father, al-Malīk al-ʿAdil, the sultan, to rule in favour of their candidate. The most powerful and ambitious was Cyril ibn Laqlaq, who would eventually become patriarch in 1235.[42] In the meantime, the divided Coptic community faced a crisis upon the Frankish invasion. Despite a sizeable Coptic community present in Damietta and even assisting in the defence of the city, when word of the crusader attack reached Cairo, intense anti-Christian riots broke out in which indigenous Christians were accused of supporting the crusading armies.[43]

The Sultan, al-Mālik al-Kāmil, was himself, as a rule, quite tolerant and sympathetic to his Christian subjects, albeit pragmatic. Numerous examples of his benevolence are found in the *History of the Patriarchs*, such as his generosity towards a Coptic convert to Islam and

permitting his reversion to Christianity, his affection towards the desert 'hermit of Abyar' near Alexandria (whom he nominated on several occasions to the patriarchate) and his sojourn amongst the monks in the Wādi Nātrun.[44] Nonetheless, the Frankish invasion called for desperate measures. The *dhimmīs* were not supposed to be armed or fight in the armies, and while Muslims too faced extra war taxes, Christians and Jews were forced to pay extortionate sums. A letter of 19 October 1219, for example, describes the 'voluntary contribution' of 6,000 dinars collected in Alexandria obviously in connection to the war effort against the Franks at Damietta. As with nearly every crusader invasion of Egypt, a special tax of the *dhimmīs* was instituted. At times, a requisition (*musadara*) was carried out, in which all of the clothing and provisions of an entire town would be confiscated by the government. At other times – in war and peace – the civil populace would be ordered into enforced and unpaid labour for the government, such as digging trenches or building fortifications. Travellers were not exempted, but Jews, and presumably Christians, were given freedom to observe the Sabbath.[45]

As the siege of Damietta continued, Muslim common people in Cairo and elsewhere started to violently attack Christians. Berber conscripts on their way to Damietta destroyed all churches in their path. The *jizya* tax was exacted in advance, while extra taxes on numerous occasions were extracted from the Copts, the Melkites and the Jews under threat of torture and death, which was sometimes realized. Church vessels were sold off and the situation deteriorated rapidly. When Damietta was finally taken by the Franks, according to the *History of the Patriarchs*, 6,000 or 11,000 inhabitants were found inside, all of whom were taken captive – except for the Christians (*al-naṣāra*).[46] Sultan al-Mālik al-Kāmil, pragmatically perhaps, supported the extraction of money from the non-Muslims, but as best he could, he also protected them from the worst excesses. Thus, when a Muslim from the Maghreb was found to have tortured a number of Christians and Jews into giving an excessive sum, the sultan had them released from the pledge.[47] In general, al-Mālik al-Kāmil was rather sympathetic to the Christians, as when in 1228, he and his retinue were entertained by the monks at the monastery of St Macarius in the Wādi Natrūn (alluded to earlier). Al-Mālik al-Kāmil 'honoured them and he drew them nigh to him, and he protected them, and he wrote for them an announcement, that he who became a monk should not be forced to pay a tax'.[48]

Was popular opinion amongst the Muslims that the Copts (and the

Melkites) were in collusion with the crusaders correct? Carole Hillenbrand has concluded that 'the loyalties of the Copts in the Ayyūbid period seem often to have lain more with the Muslims and with their own local interests than with the Crusaders'.[49] This view is shared by Françoise Micheau and Anne-Marie Eddé. In their study of the Coptic historian al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd (who wrote in the early 1260s), they found that he perceived the Franks – never termed *al-naṣrāni* or *al-massīah*, but *al-frānj* – as invading foreigners against whom the population of Syria and Egypt – regardless of religious affiliation – must necessarily fight against, or negotiate, when appropriate. He never expressed any sense of common religious affiliation with the Franks and only appears to have had the slightest understanding of the phenomenon of the Crusade.[50] If al-Makīn, an educated Copt serving with the Ayyūbid government in Syria, had this opinion, then it is reasonable that the majority of Copts in Egypt whose only encounter with crusade was in its effect of increased hardship also shared this understanding. This is especially true for the large Coptic population in Upper Egypt.

In the years following the Fifth Crusade, the Copts were able to recover from the events and even flourish. Arguably, however, the presence of the Fifth Crusade on Egyptian soil, coupled with the Sunni revival in Egypt, the occasional ostentatious display of wealth and power by scribes, along with the rumoured Christian-Mongol threat from the East, all worked together to increase suspicion and hostility by Egyptian Muslims from all levels of society, from the *ʿāmma* (the urban poor), the *ʿulamā'* (scholarly religious class) and even the last significant Ayyūbid sultan, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (1240–49). In his somewhat dubious *Testament*, he warned his son that: 'The enemy is near you, in your state; it is the Christians.'[51] The Fifth Crusade did play a role in the hardening of Muslim opinion towards Egypt's Christians, but it was only a small part and the Copts – their community divided and within the confines of their *dhimmī* status – were soon prospering as before.

Notes

1 Although this chapter focuses on the non-Latin Christian minorities of the Near East and of Egypt in particular, it is worth noting that even the relationship between Franks and Muslims was complicated and was not one of constant hostility, as has often been portrayed. See, for example, Michael A. Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties between Frankish and Muslim Rulers in the Middle East: Cross-cultural Diplomacy in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. Peter M. Holt and ed. Konrad

Hirschler (Leiden, 2013).

2This animosity culminated in, of course, the destruction of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople as a result of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. For Byzantium's role in the Crusades, see Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003); Angeliki E. Laiou, 'Byzantium and the Crusades in the Twelfth Century: Why was the Fourth Crusade Late in Coming?', in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IVe Croisade et ses consequences*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 17–40.

3See, for example, Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 83–97; Heinz Halm, *Shiʿism*, trans. Janet Watson (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 156–58, 178–80, 184–85; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 324–448; Henri Lammens, 'Les Nosairis dans le Liban', *Revue de L'Orient Chrétien*, 7 (1902), pp. 452–77; Nejla M. Abu-Izzeddin, *The Druzes: A New Study in Their History, Faith and Society* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 149–53; Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 251–91.

4Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox, or *Rūm*. In the context of this chapter, Greek-speaking communities within the three Oriental Patriarchates (Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) shall also be included under this label.

5Usually called 'Iberians' in medieval sources, not to be confused with the Iberian peninsula of Spain and Portugal.

6Often called 'Jacobites' after the important early bishop and organizer Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578).

7Or Abyssinians.

8Those belonging to the Church of the East, often referred to as 'Nestorians', a controversial label differing in meaning from East Syrians versus other Christian confessions. They are also referred to as 'East Syriacs', while the term 'Assyrian' is a modern appendage with nationalist overtones.

9On the indigenous Christians at the time of the Crusades (with a focus on Greater Syria), see Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, 2008); Farah Firzli, 'Christians in the Ayyubid Era', in *Christianity: A History in the Middle East*, ed. Habib Badr (Beirut, 2005), pp. 581–96; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow, 2004), pp. 123–54; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099–1291', in *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land, First–Fifteenth Centuries CE*, ed. A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 209–22.

10On these terms, see Norman A. Stillman, 'Dhimma', in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jozef W. Meri (New York, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 205–07; Aziz S. Atiya, 'Ahl al-Dhimmah', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz S. Atiyah (New York, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 72–73.

11On the Fifth Crusade from Eastern Christian and Arab sources in translation, see Al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd, *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, trans. Anne-Marie Eddé and Françoise Micheau (Paris, 1994), pp. 26 and 30–35; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. and trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge as *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj* (2 vols, London, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 370–71, 379; Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, trans. D. S. Richards (3 parts, Aldershot, 2005–08), part 3, pp. 174–82; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-Mulūk*, partial trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt* (Boston, 1980), pp. 164–67, 172–89.

12As the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Michael the Syrian (1166–99) explained his

experience: '…[W]hen the Franks controlled Palestine and Syria, they had chief priests in their churches, but did not oppress other [confessions] concerning doctrine. To them, all those people who spoke different languages and worshiped the Cross were Christian without question or argument.' The Syrian Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great): A Universal History from the Creation, trans. Matti Moosa (Teaneck, NJ, 2014), XVI, 1, p. 642. Cf. Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (Aldershot, 1980), pp. 189–91.

13 *The Deeds of Innocent III*, trans. James M. Powell (Washington DC, 2004), pp. 189–91, 77–89; Aristeides Papadakis and John Meyendorff, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy* (Crestwood, NY, 1994), pp. 163–67, 202–05; MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, pp. 140–41; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 315–18. From Innocent's Latin perspective following the spirit of the papal reformation, this was to *renew* their allegiance to the papacy as the 'Vicar of Christ'.

14 Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, PPTS, 11, pp. 67–84.

15 See, for example, Johannes Pahlitzsch, 'People of the Book', in *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand et al. (London, 2009), pp. 435–40.

16 Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. and trans. A. C. Barbier de Meynard, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades – Historiens Orientaux* (vols. 4–5, Paris, 1898–1906), vol. 4, 340–41; Ibn al-Athir, *Chronicle*, part 2, p. 335; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, vol. 1, 326–27 (who notes that Saladin allowed four Latin clergy to remain); Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, MA, 2011), pp. 410–11. Compare *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church (History of the Holy Church)*, attributed to Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, ed. and trans. Antoine Khater, O. H. E. Khs-Burmester et al. (Cairo, 1943–74), vol. 3(2), pp. 132–33.

17 Mark R. Cohen, 'What was the Pact of ʿUmar? A Literary-Historical Study', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 23 (1999), pp. 100–57; Antoine Fattal, *Le Statut Légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut, 1958), pp. 71–84; E. Strauss, 'The Social Isolation of the Ahl adh-Dhimma', in *Etudes Orientales à la Mémoire de Paul Hirschler*, ed. O. Komlos (Budapest, 1950), pp. 73–94.

18 Michael Brett, 'Al-Karāza al-Marqusīya: The Coptic Church in the Fatimid Empire', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Louvain, 2005), vol. 4, pp. 33–60, at pp. 36–38.

19 Yehoshu'a Frenkel, 'Political and Social Aspects of Islamic Religious Endowments (*awqaf*): Saladin in Cairo (1169–1173) and Jerusalem (1187–1193)', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 62 (1999), pp. 1–20; Eddé, *Saladin*, pp. 400–04. Compare Gary Leiser, 'The Madrasa and the Islamization of the Middle East: The Case of Egypt', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 22 (1985), pp. 29–47, at p. 36; Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 28–29.

20 Kurt J. Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity and Ayyubid Politics in Egypt, 1218–1250* (Cairo, 2010), pp. 88–95, 121–26. Compare Hans Ludwig Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit: eine Studie zur Geschichte Vorderasiens und Egyptens in der ersten Hälfte des 7./13. Jahrhunderts* (Weisbaden, 1958).

21 For more on the indigenous Christians of the Ayyūbid Sultanate, see Kenneth Scott Parker, 'The Indigenous Christians of the Arabic Middle East in an Age of Crusaders, Mongols, and Mamluks (1244–1366)' (PhD thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2012).

22 Johannes Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Beiträge und*

Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Partriarchats von Jerusalem (Berlin, 2001), pp. 235–69; Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, pp. 141–45; Nadia El Cheikh and C. E. Bosworth, 'Rūm', in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, *New Edition*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden, 1960–2002), vol. 8, pp. 601–06; on terminology and identity, compare Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'Between Hellenism and Arabicization: On the Formation of an Ethnolinguistic Identity of the Melkite Communities in the Heart of Muslim Rule', *al-Qanṭara*, 33 (2012), pp. 445–71, here pp. 449ff; George Aṭiyyeh, 'The Rise of Eastern Churches and their Heritage (5th–8th Century): Churches of the Byzantine Tradition', in *Christianity: A History in the Middle East*, ed. Habib Badr (Beirut, 2005), pp. 293–316, here pp. 293–97.

23 *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*, attributed to Abu Salih al-Armani, ed. and trans. B. T. A. Evetts (Oxford, 1895), pp. 96–97.

24 Ibid., p. 129.

25 Lev, *Saladin*, pp. 191–92.

26 Pahlitzsch, 'People of the Book', p. 437.

27 *History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3(2), pp. 213–15.

28 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* , vol. 4(2), pp. 1055–59, 1086; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Le Monastère du Sinaï: creuset de culture chrétienne (Xe–XIIIe siècle)', in *East and West in the Crusader States I*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids and Herman Teule (Leuven, 1996), pp. 103–30; Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du Mouvement Littéraire dans L'église Melchite du Ve au XXe Siècle* (Louvain, 1981), vol. 3, p. 82.

29 Nicholas Coureas, 'The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai and Papal Protection of its Cretan and Cypriot Properties', in *Autour de la première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 475–84, here pp. 475–76.

30 Youhanna Nessim Youssef, 'Melkites in Egypt According to Abū al-Makārim (XII Century)', *Parole de l'Orient*, 34 (2009), pp. 251–279, here p. 263.

31 *History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3(2), pp. 193–94.

32 Ibid., vol. 4(2), p. 58.

33 Giorgio Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis* (Padua, 1988–2006), vol. 2, p. 584.

34 Emmanuel Sivan, 'Notes sur la situation des chrétiens à l'époque ayyūbide', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 172 (1967), pp, 117–30, here p. 125.

35 *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 129.

36 Tamer el-Leithy, 'Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524 A.D.' (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2005), pp. 19–20, 25–26; Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity*, pp. 75–79; Michael Brett, 'The Islamisation of Egypt and North Africa', First Annual Levtzion Lecture, delivered 12 January 2005 (Jerusalem, 2006), available at www.hum.huji.ac.il/upload/(FILE)1228661697.pdf, pp. 10–14.

37 Carl F. Petry, 'Copts in Late Medieval Egypt', in *Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Atiya, vol. 2, pp. 618–35.

38 With a fear of implicitly becoming Islamized. See Kenneth Scott Parker, 'Coptic Language and Identity in Ayyūbid Egypt', *al-Masāq*, 25 (2013), pp. 222–39; Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity*, pp. 84–96; Georges C. Anawati, 'The Christian Communities in Egypt in the Middle Ages', in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990), pp. 237–51, here pp. 239–45.

39 Adel Sidarus, 'La Renaissance Copte Arabe du Moyen Âge', in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. Herman Teule, Carmen Fotescu Tauwinkl et al. (Louvain, 2010),

pp. 311–40; Adel Sidarus, 'Essai sur l'Age d'Or de la Litterature Copte Arabe (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)', in *The Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, ed. David Johnson and Tito Orlandi (2 vols, Rome, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 443–62.

40See *Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*, ed. Elizabeth S. Bolman (London, 2002); *The Cave Church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St. Paul, Egypt*, ed. William Lyster (New Haven, 2008).

41Lucy-Anne Hunt, 'The Illustration of a Thirteenth-Century New Testament Manuscript from Cairo' (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute, London, 1981), pp. 114–17; Lucy-Anne Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo and Mosques of Al-Qāhira: A Case of Christian-Muslim Interchange', in *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom, and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Lucy-Anne Hunt (London, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 319–44, here pp. 331–32.

42On Pope Cyril ibn Laqlaq and the events leading up to his consecration, see *History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pp. 166–68, 203–10; vol. 4(1), pp. 1–17, 22–37; al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd, *Chronique*, pp. 20–22, 50–51; al-Maqrīzī, *History*, pp. 161–3; Mark N. Swanson, *The Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt (641–1517)* (Cairo, 2010), pp. 83–95.

43Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York, 2000), p. 414; Sivan, 'La situation des chrétiens', pp. 124–27.

44*History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3(2), pp. 200–01, 206; Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wādi ʿN Natrūn*, ed. Walter Hauser, 3 vols. (New York, 1932), vol. 2, pp. 385–6; on al-Kāmil and his relations with his Christian subjects in general, see Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity*, pp. 57–58, 84–96, 121–26. Conversion or reversion from Islam is, of course, usually forbidden under pain of death.

45S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols (Berkeley, CA, 1967–88), vol. 2, pp. 380–94. It was also not unknown for the leading citizens of the community (e.g. secretaries of the *dīwāns*) to sponsor hundreds of their poor brethren at a given time. Regarding the voluntary contribution following the Frankish attack on Damietta, al-Maqrīzī notes: 'The Sultan charged certain persons to go … forth to the remotest districts [of Egypt] imploring the people's aid in delivering the land of Egypt from the Franks'. See al-Maqrīzī, *History*, pp. 179–80.

46*History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 4(2), p. 68.

47Ibid., vol. 4(2), p.70.

48Ibid., vol. 4(1), p. 105.

49Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, p. 414.

50Eddé and Micheau in al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd, *Chronique*, p. 11; compare Françoise Micheau, 'Croisades et croisés vus par les historiens arabes chrétiens d'Égypte', in *Itinéraires d'Orient: hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. Raoul Curiel and Rika Gyselen (Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994), pp. 169–85. Rare exceptions occur in the *History of the Patriarchs*, where, for example, the justice and fairness of the Franks is once praised. On another occasion, a priest is recorded as having had a dream in which Christ orders him to speak with the leader of the Franks, who have a 'liberating' cast to them. *History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 4(1), pp. 48–49.

51'Le testament d'al-Malik as-Salih Ayyub', ed. and trans. Claude Cahen and I. Chabbouh, *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*, 29 (1977), pp. 97–114. Compare Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, pp. 414–19.

10Pilgrimage, the Holy Land and the Fifth Crusade

E. J. Mylod

For much of the twelfth century, pilgrimage and crusade were closely linked. Pilgrimage provided the geographical goals of the earliest crusades, which focused first on Jerusalem and then on the holy areas around it, such as Judaea and Galilee. There was frequently an overlap of personnel between pilgrimage and crusading, as crusaders ended their crusade by going on pilgrimage to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and pilgrims were frequently called upon to fight to protect the Holy Land. Just as pilgrimage provided the goals of the First Crusade, the crusade itself stimulated Latin Christian pilgrim interest in the Holy Land.[1] It made it possible for increasing numbers of these pilgrims to visit the holy sites by establishing a permanent settlement of western Europeans ('Franks') in the Holy Land, which first conquered, then repaired and developed the holy sites. Pilgrimage in Europe also altered as a result of the crusades, as returning pilgrims and crusaders created new pilgrimage foci with the sacred relics with which they returned. In some cases they created substitute Jerusalems for those who could not make the journey themselves. Most of the Latin kingdom and holy sites, including Jerusalem, were lost to Saladin in 1187, but the focus of crusade and pilgrimage remained the same, as the Third Crusade sought to regain Jerusalem.

The links between crusade and pilgrimage began to break during the thirteenth century, as the proliferating goals of crusaders increasingly did not match those of pilgrims. Military activity in Spain, southern France (the Albigensian Crusade, 1208–29) and later in the Baltic, although done under the auspices of the crusades, did not seek to regain holy sites. Did crusades to the East, which sought to support the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the holy sites, also start to diverge from the goals of Holy Land pilgrimage or did the connection between crusade and pilgrimage remain?

This chapter focuses on the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), which predominantly took place in northern Egypt, to see if pilgrimage and

crusade influenced each other during the thirteenth century away from the main pilgrimage sites around Jerusalem. The study will indicate why the Fifth Crusade is such a crucial example for our understanding of how pilgrimage changes, how and why clerics of the Fifth Crusade tried to promote pilgrimage to the area and, ultimately, why they were unsuccessful.

The origins of pilgrimage in northern Egypt

The area of northern Egypt and the neighbouring Sinai peninsula provided locations for the events of the Old Testament and New Testament, and featured heavily in the history of the earliest Christian ascetics. Egypt (and the Sinai desert) was the location for the events of the Books of Genesis and Exodus, which described the story of Joseph, the Ten Plagues and the subsequent flight of the Jewish people from Egypt under the leadership of Moses. It was also the place of Jesus's (largely unknown) early childhood, following the flight of the Holy Family from Herod. In the post-biblical period, this area was the home of the Desert Fathers, including St Anthony, whose example ultimately led to the development of Christian monasticism. As with other areas in the Roman Empire, northern Egypt could also boast of martyrs resulting from the third and fourth-century persecutions. The most famous, although she does not emerge in the sources until the seventh century, was St Catherine, whose *Passio* placed her martyrdom in Alexandria and her translated body on Mount Sinai.[2] The Mount Sinai monastery associated with her became one of the main attractions for Christians visiting the area.

For the earliest pilgrims to the Holy Land, such as Egeria and the Piacenza Pilgrim, who visited in c. 382 and c. 570, respectively, northern Egypt was an essential component of their visits to the holy places.[3] The accounts left behind by these two pilgrims show that they were specifically interested in the locations of the events of Exodus and planned their pilgrimages accordingly. The Piacenza Pilgrim, for example, travelled from Jerusalem through the desert to Mount Sinai, before travelling through Egypt and returning to Jerusalem via a boat from Alexandria. The Pilgrim and Egeria stopped at places such as Phara (Feirân), where Moses fought with Amalek, and Clysma/Suez, the place where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea.[4]

The Piacenza Pilgrim makes one reference to the Book of Genesis and Joseph, noting that they visited Joseph's 'grain stores'; that is, the buildings constructed on the advice of Joseph after he had interpreted

the Pharaoh's dream to mean that there would be a period of famine in Egypt in the near future. These buildings were, in reality, the pyramids at Giza and Memphis.[5] The events of the New Testament seem to have been of lesser interest to the earliest pilgrims, although the Piacenza Pilgrim seems to have seen an early Sudarium; this was a cloth used to wipe the face of Christ prior to his crucifixion, which had miraculously preserved the impression of his face.[6]

The earliest pilgrims had an interest in northern Egypt and the Sinai peninsula as the desert home of many of the early monastic and eremitic saints, such as St Anthony. St Jerome displayed an interest in these early saints in his description of his fourth-century pilgrimage through these areas with Paula and Eustochium, two Roman noblewomen. In the longer of the two letters, written as an obituary for Paula, he noted several towns in Egypt which the pilgrims passed through and connected each one in turn to events of the Old Testament.[7] However, his main focus for Egypt seems to have been the visit to Nitria, the centre of desert monasticism south-east of Alexandria, to meet with the 'innumerable companies' of monks who lived there, each of whom was considered holy in his own right.[8] Jerome notes how Paula was tempted to stay, but was persuaded to enter the monastic life at Bethlehem instead.

Over time, references to Egypt in the pilgrim guides decline, undoubtedly as a result of the changing politics of the region. The seventh century in particular saw the emergence of Islam and the expansion of the Caliphate across the southern and eastern Mediterranean. In the seventh-century pilgrim account of the bishop Arculfus, written by Adomnán, Egypt is represented by an extensive description of Alexandria; however, this focuses only on the 'real' situation of the city, not its sacred links. The eighth-century *Hodoeporicon of Willibald* has no description of Egypt at all.[9] This decline in interest in the holy sites of Egypt by Latin pilgrims continues throughout the period of Muslim control, and into the twelfth-century and the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. It coincides with development of pilgrimage as a penitential activity, one which relieved the burden of sin; and with the increasing popularity of the idea that prayers were more efficacious if made at special sites.[10]

Pilgrimage in the twelfth century

By the twelfth century, these processes had meant that Latin Christian

pilgrimage to the East had changed significantly since the earliest pilgrims in the fourth century. The process of change accelerated during the twelfth century, as greater numbers of Latin pilgrims started to visit the Holy Land following the success of the First Crusade. The number and size of the ships which carried pilgrims across the Mediterranean increased, as pilgrims took advantage of the trading routes being developed by the Italian city states.[11] The establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem made visiting the holy sites there more appealing to Latin Christian pilgrims for a number of reasons. The creation of the kingdom ensured the presence of people with the same language and culture as the visitors, which made the practical aspects of travel easier. The Franks had found many churches in the East in a poor state of repair and undertook an extensive programme of renewal and reinvention.[12] Their political control translated into religious control of the holy places, so that twelfth-century pilgrims could attend their own Latin services at many more holy sites than before. Furthermore, the development of the military orders further improved pilgrimage by providing a greater level of security, protecting pilgrims with armed escorts and castles.[13]

Unsurprisingly, the majority of texts associated with pilgrims from the twelfth century and the period just before the Fifth Crusade focus on the accessible sites in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem rather than those holy sites beyond its borders. Sites such as Phara or Mount Sinai, although popular in the early Christian period, now required an extra effort from pilgrims, who had to leave the relative familiarity of Latin jurisdiction behind. Pilgrim guides, although mostly not employed in the way that travel guides are used now, can be used to indicate the sites most of interest to pilgrims. Those Latin Christian pilgrim guides which date from before the Fifth Crusade do not include northern Egypt or the Sinai peninsula in the text in a way which suggests that these areas were of interest to contemporary pilgrims. At best, they indicate the road which one might take from the south of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to Mount Sinai:

> Near there is Jericho, and two leagues away from there is the River Jordan. From the river to Mount Sinai is eighteen days' journey. From Judaea to Samaria…[14]

Mostly, they do not mention these areas at all, and it is clear that most Latin Christians were not interested in them.[15] Nonetheless, there is evidence that some Latin Christians did visit St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai during the twelfth century. Philippe de Milly, for

example, the lord of Transjordan and Master of the Templars, travelled to the monastery in the 1160s to collect a relic of St Catherine. However, as the lords of Transjordan claimed southern Sinai as part of their lordship, this may have been a political visit rather than primarily a pilgrimage. Similarly, it has been suggested that Renaud de Châtillon, the lord of Kerak (which was also relatively close to southern Sinai), visited the monastery with Philip of Alsace, the Count of Flanders, and his companions.[16]

The greatest volume of information about northern Egypt and Sinai at this time comes from a description by Rorgo Fretellus. This text, which exists in various versions but dates originally to c. 1137, includes sections on this area as part of his description of the Holy Land. However, the text itself shares a number of similarities with the earliest guides, and it is not clear to what extent his description reflects the situation in the twelfth century and to what extent it is gathered from information in earlier texts such as Jerome's letters.[17] Fretellus describes the route of Exodus and gives descriptions of each 'station' (place where the Israelites rested) through Egypt and Sinai. He includes the site of St Catherine's and comments on the presence of many holy hermits and monks there, but shows no interest in New Testament sites.

Burchard of Strasbourg, an envoy of Frederick I, genuinely travelled through the area in 1175 as part of his commission from the emperor. He left a detailed report, parts of which have been preserved for us in the Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck, which will be discussed in more detail later. Burchard's account is interesting because it shows a change of emphasis from the early Christian pilgrimage accounts – and from Fretellus. Whereas these, as mentioned earlier, were focused predominantly on the events of Exodus, with some reference to later, post-biblical holy people, Burchard's account is more interested in links to the New Testament and contemporary religion. He notes the presence of Christian churches within the country and comments on the presence of relics; he even notes where those of St Mark were stolen by the Venetians.[18] However, Burchard's longest discussion is reserved for sites associated with events of the New Testament. These sites were those linked to the flight of the Holy Family from persecution by Herod. The main one was at Maṭariyya (anciently 'Heliopolis), just outside 'Babylon', now a district of Cairo. Here was a garden of balsam trees, which produced a very expensive gum resin used in religious ceremonies throughout the medieval period. By the sixteenth century, Muslim chroniclers were commenting that the resin

was more expensive than gold.[19] The garden was important because the balsam trees which grew there could apparently grow nowhere else (except possibly just outside Jericho – see below); this importance was recognized by the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans, who were generally present, or sent an official delegation, to the annual resin-collection ceremonies.[20] Aside from the economic importance of the resin produced, the garden was also important in religious terms, as it was watered by a spring in which the Holy Family had washed and in which the Virgin Mary had washed Jesus's clothes. Burchard describes how great crowds of people came there at Epiphany to wash in the same waters, which presumably had a healing or salvific function. He is one of the first Europeans to note the religious syncretism at Maṭariyya, commenting that 'Saracens' held the place in high regard as well.[21] Near to here was also a miraculous tree, which had bent its branches to provide fruit to the Virgin Mary and Jesus. He ends his description of this site by commenting that there were many other places associated with the Holy Family in this area.[22]

Burchard shows no apparent interest in the monastery of St Catherine, in contrast to most of the twelfth-century guides, who, if they mention this area at all, note the route to Sinai rather than any other location. Burchard seems to have been unique in his description of this area and although he did visit religious sites, pilgrimage was not his primary motive for visiting the area.

Although Latin pilgrimage to northern Egypt and Sinai was not unknown, it seems to have died out by the twelfth century apart from the occasional traveller who was in the area for other reasons. Certainly, the vast majority of pilgrims to the Holy Land in the twelfth century and early thirteenth century did not visit the area of northern Egypt or Sinai. The conquest of Jerusalem and formation of the Latin kingdom made access to the majority of holy sites sufficiently straightforward that travelling onwards to Sinai and Egypt seems to have been of lesser interest. Pilgrims were travelling a great distance from the port at which they landed (Acre) and would be beyond the protection and support of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The Sinai peninsula, in particular, has been described as a buffer zone between the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and Muslim Egypt.[23] Visiting the sites in these areas was much more difficult, but was for a spiritual reward which was not greater than that already received for visiting Jerusalem. It is therefore not surprising to find that most pilgrims to the Holy Land at this period focused on the sites in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem rather than travelling beyond its borders to those sites

popular in the early Christian period.

The Fifth Crusade

In 1213, Innocent III called for another crusade to the Eastern Mediterranean to take place in four years' time (in 1217). The crusade benefited from a long lead-time, taxation of the clergy and a suspension of benefits to those undertaking crusader activity against the Muslim polities of southern Spain and in southern France against the Cathars.[24] The first crusaders gathered around Acre in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, from October 1217, and they undertook a number of raids into Galilee while they waited for the rest of the army to arrive. Like the Fourth Crusade (1198–1204), the Fifth Crusade was set against Egypt from early on in the military planning process. The crusaders planned to attack and capture northern Egypt, destroying the main Muslim power bases in the area. This would secure the Latin kingdom from attack and, as the area was wealthy, would provide it with an additional source of revenue.

As the crusade army left the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, it left behind all the sites in which twelfth-century pilgrims had been interested. However, this did not result in a disconnection between crusade and pilgrimage, as might be expected. Accounts relating to the Fifth Crusade and pilgrimage contemporary with this period increasingly emphasize the sacred aspects of Egypt and Sinai. The clerical authors of these accounts seemed to be justifying theologically a strategy which had been formed from military considerations.

Two clerics in particular seem to have emphasized the sacred aspects of northern Egypt. These were Jacques de Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn. Both travelled with the crusaders to Damietta and both described their experiences. Oliver of Paderborn was a German preacher of the Fifth Crusade. His account of the Fifth Crusade, the *Historia Damiatina*, as well as describing the course of the crusade, also provides one of the most comprehensive descriptions of pilgrimage sites in Egypt, particularly of Maṭariyya and the garden of balsam.[25] The description comes midway through his narrative, as part of a long digression describing Egypt's geography and people. Oliver adds extra information which is not available from Burchard of Strasbourg and so was probably writing using information gained from local knowledge. He begins by noting that there was a Church of the Blessed Mary between Cairo and Babylon, where she rested, and that Cairo was three days' journey from Damietta. He goes on to describe the garden

of balsam as being one mile from Cairo and notes the presence of the holy spring in which the Virgin Mary washed the clothing of Jesus, although he adds that this spring appeared at the prayer of the Virgin Mary. He does not mention the miraculous bending tree, but does include an involved description of how the balsam resin was collected. Interestingly, in a separate work of his describing the Holy Land, he includes Mount Sinai and the desert in which the Israelites wandered, but not Maṭariyya; he focuses on the Old Testament traditions rather than the New Testament ones, in contrast to his *Historia Damiatina*.[26] This separate work, which drew heavily on earlier descriptions of the Holy Land, is currently undated, so it is unclear if the text was written before or after the *Historia Damiatina* and the events of the Fifth Crusade.[27]

Jacques de Vitry, appointed Bishop of Acre in 1214, included comments on Egypt in both the letters he wrote during the course of the Crusade and his *Historia Orientalis*. In one of the letters written during the Fifth Crusade, he noted that Egypt was the place where Jesus lived during his childhood. He goes on to describe a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary greatly venerated by the 'Saracens', marking the spot where she rested after the journey. This can be identified with the church located by Oliver of Paderborn between Cairo and Babylon.[28] Jacques de Vitry does not mention Maṭariyya specifically, but does note that the balsam tree grew in this part of Egypt. There is a fuller description in his *Historia Orientalis*, but this seems to have been mostly borrowed from Burchard of Strasbourg.[29] In his letters, Jacques also includes one church which he could have seen during the course of the Fifth Crusade, that of the prophet Jeremiah. This was near Tanis, and marked the location of the prophet Jeremiah's death by stoning.[30] He further emphasized the sacred quality of the Fifth Crusade and Egypt by comparing the journey of the crusaders with that of the Israelites. He noted that what had taken the Israelites 40 years (travelling from Egypt to Palestine) had only taken the crusaders, going in the other direction, two days.[31] Furthermore, he ends his letter by saying:

> Do not cease to pray for us so that He lead us out of Egypt into the Promised Land in a pillar of cloud and a pillar of fire, allowing us to cross the Red Sea…[32]

In doing this, Jacques de Vitry mimics the language of Exodus 13:21, which describes the journey of the Israelites. Although he and Oliver of Paderborn did emphasize the sacred aspects of Egypt, they clearly

distinguished between it and the Promised/Holy Land.[33]

There is no evidence that either Oliver of Paderborn or Jacques de Vitry actually visited the sites they describe; descriptions of their own pilgrimage activity are limited to Galilee and the northern part of the Holy Land. However, there is one account from a pilgrim who visited this area around the time of the Fifth Crusade – this is the account of Thietmar, a German cleric who reached Acre in the autumn of 1217. Thietmar's account survives in 18 manuscripts, which have been divided into two distinct manuscript traditions, both of which are represented by manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century.[34] For the sake of simplicity, the manuscript tradition which is considered the closest to Thietmar's text, published in an edition by J. C. M. Laurent, will be called tradition A. The manuscript tradition which is considered to be a later abbreviation with interpolations will be called tradition B. An edition of Thietmar's account from a thirteenth-century manuscript of tradition B has been published by Jules de Saint-Génois.[35] Although there is a great deal of similarity between the traditions and both date from the thirteenth century, the account from tradition A has far less information on Egypt than that from tradition B. These interpolations may represent a revival of interest in this area during or following the Fifth Crusade. It is possible that, like the revived version of Burchard of Strasbourg, this account was also commissioned as part of the crusade preparation. A fifteenth-century chronicle, that of Nicholas Glassberger of Moravia, suggests that Thietmar wrote the work in order to provide information to the pope on the state of the Holy Land, although it is unclear how accurate this information is.[36]

Looking first at the account supported by both traditions and which is therefore most likely to represent the historical journey taken by Thietmar, one sees that he was particularly keen to visit the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai. He describes setting off from Acre disguised as a Georgian monk in order to make the trip.[37] This was probably due to the dangers involved in going as a European pilgrim during the preparations for the Fifth Crusade. Georgians often had preferential treatment in the Muslim-held areas, a fact that Jacques de Vitry also noted.[38] The Georgian kingdom was a significant power in the region, particularly in the second half of the twelfth century, when there was a good relationship between the Georgian Queen Tamar and the Ayyubid rulers of the Holy Land. As a result, Georgian pilgrims were granted exemption from dues and other privileges.[39]

After leaving Acre, Thietmar headed south, visiting holy sites in

Palestine along the way (including Jerusalem). He refers obliquely to the garden of Maṭariyya during his description of the area around the Dead Sea; he noted that there had been a balsam garden in that area, but that it had been uprooted and moved to Egypt, where it could only be watered by a special spring. In the tradition B account, this spring is glossed as that used for washing by the Holy Family following their flight from Herod. The interpolation goes on to note that the spring was revered by the Saracens for that reason.[40]

In both traditions, Thietmar is led by Bedouin across the desert to Mount Sinai. The accounts from both traditions describe the monastery of St Catherine and associated churches in detail, and Thietmar seems to have spent some time here. During his stay, Thietmar notes that he was taken to the top of Mount Sinai and shown the view over towards Egypt. At this point, in tradition B, additional information describing northern Egypt is inserted. The account includes descriptions of the garden of Maṭariyya and the city of Alexandria, which have been mostly copied directly from the account of Burchard of Strasbourg (as preserved in the Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck). The account of the view from Mount Sinai and the description of northern Egypt ends in both traditions with Thietmar being given sacred oil from St Catherine by the monks of Sinai, after which he returned to Acre.[41]

There is further evidence to support this resurgence of interest in the sacred history of Egypt. Burchard of Strasbourg's account, originally written in 1175, is preserved in the Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck during the period of the Fifth Crusade. Another reworking of Burchard's account, which includes references to the pilgrim Thietmar, was also written around the time of the Fifth Crusade.[42] It seems that the account's inclusion in the Chronicle was related to the planning of the Crusade, indicating an increased interest in the sacred qualities of northern Egypt and Sinai at this time.[43] Other chroniclers of the Fifth Crusade also acknowledge the presence of pilgrimage sites in Egypt: the continuator of the Chronicle of William of Tyre (Rothelin manuscript), for example, includes a short note on Maṭariyya, with its spring made holy by Christ's garments and its palm tree which bent at the request of the Virgin Mary and Jesus.[44] Finally, the Chronicle of Ernoul includes descriptions of the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai and the Old Testament events associated with Moses and the Red Sea as part of its description of the Holy Land.[45]

The Fifth Crusade seems to have sparked a scholarly interest in the area of northern Egypt and Sinai, which resulted in the descriptions of

Oliver of Paderborn and Jacques de Vitry, and various versions of the text of Burchard of Strasbourg. However, it is not clear to what extent this interest was communicated to the crusaders and what, if any, impact it had on them. Crusaders did engage in pilgrimage activity whilst on crusade: Oliver of Paderborn describes how, after gathering in the Latin kingdom prior to moving to Egypt, the participants of the Fifth Crusade raided across Galilee, taking the time to wash in the river Jordan and to view Bethsaida (city of Andrew and Peter), the place where Jesus walked on water, the mount where he fed the crowds and the place on the sea shore where he ate with the disciples after the resurrection.[46] However, there is no suggestion that the crusaders, whilst in Egypt, undertook any pilgrimage activity or that there were any other Latin pilgrims to this area at this time, with the exception of Thietmar and Mount Sinai. The interest in sacred sites in Egypt seems to have been purely theoretical.

The impact of the Fifth Crusade

The Fifth Crusade itself was ultimately unsuccessful in its stated aims, achieving an eight-year truce with the Muslim polities without making any territorial gains. However, the scholarly interest in the sites of northern Egypt and Sinai does survive beyond the period of the Fifth Crusade. There is a slight increase in interest in pilgrimage to this area in the *itineraria*-style, anonymous pilgrim guides. More of the guides mention Sinai than before and, when they do, they describe it as a potential place of pilgrimage – that is, they describe why the site is holy rather than just noting the road to it:

> From the River Jordan to Mount Sinai is 8 days journey. There our Lord gave the law to Moses. And on that mount lies St Katherine, and there is an abbey of Greeks, and it is a very beautiful and there are many wild beasts which live not except by manna which falls from the sky. On the tomb of St Katherine appears an oil or balm, which cures many illnesses when used.[47]

The guide *Hec sunt peregrinaciones et loca Terrae Sanctae* includes information on northern Egypt when it describes the garden of balsam at Maṭariyya with the holy spring, as well as a church in Babylon with the body of St Barbara.

Burchard of Mount Sion, a German Dominican who visited the Holy Land and Egypt in the 1280s, noted the presence of the garden of balsam by commenting that balsam plants used to be near Jericho, but that it had been removed to Babylon by Cleopatra.[48] He had clearly

visited the site, describing its size and noting that the garden was watered by a miraculous spring used by the Virgin Mary. Burchard himself bathed in the well and took some balsam wood with him, but it is not clear from his description that he necessarily considered this a place of Holy Land pilgrimage; he comments that he was taken there by the sultan of Egypt when he came to Egypt to visit him. Indeed, Burchard says that he visited the whole of the desert to the mouth of the Nile, including Damietta, and that this land was that of the pharaoh where the Israelites lived. He adds that this was also where Jeremiah was stoned.[49] Evidently, although he was aware of some pilgrimage sites of Sinai and northern Egypt (he does not include St Catherine's, for example), he did not consider them to be part of the Holy Land – that is, it was not part of the land given (promised) to the Twelve Tribes of Israel, as described in the Old Testament.

Other writers, besides the pilgrims, show an interest in the area. Philippe Mousket, who wrote a poetic description of the Holy Land around 1241, included Egypt in his description. Two of the mid-thirteenth-century maps of Matthew Paris also include northern Egypt and Sinai as part of works on how to reach the Holy Land.[50] One of these (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 26) not only includes Damietta, Alexandria and Cairo as part of the Holy Land map page, but also illustrates the miraculous tree which bent down to the Virgin Mary at Maṭariyya, an illustration which takes up almost as much space as the Holy City of Jerusalem itself. The other Holy Land map (British Library, Royal MS 14, C. vii) does not include Maṭariyya, but does include Damietta, Alexandria, Cairo and the crocodiles of the Nile.

Northern Egypt and Sinai were clearly of interest to scholars during the thirteenth century, but they did not regain their early Christian popularity with most pilgrims. Given that the First Crusade resulted in an increase in pilgrimage to the Holy Land and given that Egypt had a similar history of pilgrimage, one might expect to see an increase in pilgrimage there following the Fifth Crusade. That this was not the case is explained by the complete lack of long-term territorial gains by the Fifth Crusade. The soldiers of the First Crusade captured territory, which was later settled by Europeans; the Fifth Crusade had no territorial gains at all. Although thirteenth-century pilgrims were interested in visiting the sights – hence the slight increase in the information on Sinai and Egypt given by the general *itineraria* – ease of access had a greater influence on their destinations than history or sacralizing texts written by the clergy. Although pilgrims could visit

the area, they mostly did not, as evidenced by the majority of *itineraria*, pilgrim accounts and references to pilgrims in chronicles.

The role of Egypt and Sinai in Latin pilgrimage during the fourteenth century, although outside the main scope of this study, further illustrates this point. After the loss of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291, pilgrims no longer had easy access to any part of the Holy Land. At the same time, the trade routes of the eastern Mediterranean changed, and goods which had previously been shipped from the Latin kingdom's coastline were now shipped from northern Egypt. As the Italian merchant states moved into the cities of the Egyptian delta, one sees an increase in Latin interest in visiting the holy sites of Egypt and Sinai, as pilgrims were more easily able to access these areas and as the shipping routes which they travelled on changed. Indeed, some have seen this period as one in which the areas of Egypt and Sinai again become an integral part of the Holy Land pilgrimage experience.[51] The sites which these pilgrims visit include both the Old Testament sites remarked on by early pilgrims, such as the granaries of Joseph, and the New Testament sites first noted in Western European sources by Burchard of Strasbourg and popularized around the time of the Fifth Crusade.[52]

Conclusion

The area of northern Egypt and Sinai had a long sacred history and was a significant part of the travels of the earliest pilgrims. The area declined as a place of interest to Latin pilgrims to the eastern Mediterranean over time, such that it was not part of the standard itinerary of the Latin pilgrim during the twelfth century. The Fifth Crusade drew scholarly attention to the area again, and the thirteenth century saw an increase in descriptions and references to the sacred sites of the area, as some clerics sought to make the military focus of the Fifth Crusade also a sacred one. Despite the changes in crusading activity over the previous century, the link between crusade and pilgrimage was maintained, at least in part.

However, the impact of the Fifth Crusade on pilgrimage in physical terms was limited, and although there was interest in the area, this did not translate into a significant number of visits by Latin pilgrims. The area of northern Egypt and Sinai did not become a regular part of the itinerary of Latin pilgrims again until the fourteenth century, once the shipping routes changed and pilgrims arrived in the Eastern Mediterranean at ports closer to these sites. One might note from this

that although the crusades continued to have an effect on where Latin Christian pilgrims wished to go, for a site to become a regular part of the canon of Latin holy places, it needed to be as easy to access as the other holy sites which a pilgrim might visit. Geography and political control therefore had a more significant effect on the choice of holy sites visited by Latin pilgrims in the eastern Mediterranean.

Notes

1 Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), p. 193.

2 St Catherine probably never existed as an historical figure, but her cult was popular throughout Europe in the later Middle Ages. The earliest version of her *Passio*, which links St Catherine to Alexandria, dates from the ninth century, and although she is not mentioned in the earliest pilgrim guides, she is important for later pilgrims to Sinai. Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 1, 8.

3 'Ps.-Antonini Placentini Itinerarium', in *Itineraria et alia Geographica*, Corpus Christianorum, 175, ed. Paul Geyer (Turnhout, 1965), pp. 128–74; Egeria, 'Itinerarium Egeriae', in *Itineraria et alia Geographica*, ed. A. Franceschini and R. Weber (Turnhout, 1965), pp. 29–103.

4 Exodus 17:8–16; Exodus 14:15–29; 'Ps.-Antonini Placentini Itinerarium', pp. 149–51; Egeria, 'Itinerarium Egeriae', pp. 100–01.

5 Genesis 41; 'Ps.-Antonini Placentini Itinerarium', pp. 151–52.

6 'Ps.-Antonini Placentini Itinerarium', p. 152.

7 John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (London, 1988), p. 2.

8 'Turbis innumerabilibus monachorum'. Jerome, 'Epistula CVIII', in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 55, ed. Isidorus Hilberg (Lipsiae, 1910), vol. 2, pp. 306–51, here p. 324.

9 Adamnan, 'De locis sanctis', in *Itineraria et alia Geographica*, ed. Greyer, pp. 177–234; 'Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi auctore sanctimoniali Heidenheimensi', *MGH SS*, 15, 1 (Hanover, 1887), pp. 80–117.

10 Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 193–95.

11 Ibid., p. 195.

12 Pringle states that more than 400 church buildings are known to have been repaired and constructed, or simply reused, during the time of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus* (4 vols, Cambridge, 1993).

13 Yvonne Friedman, 'Pilgrims in the Shadow of the Crusader Kingdom', in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Sylvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem, 1999), pp. 101–09, here pp. 104–05.

14 Translation: 'Seventh Guide', *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, trans. John Wilkinson (London, 1988), pp. 233–37, here p. 236. 'Et ibi prope est Jericho, et inde ad duas leucas est fluvius Jordanis. De flumine ad montem Sinai sunt XVIII diaetae. De Judaea ad Samariam …' Innominatus VII, 'Descriptio terrae sanctae', in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)*, ed. Sabino Sandoli (4 vols, Jerusalem, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 77–83, here p. 82.

15Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 210–11.

16Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, pp. 44–45.

17Rorgo Fretellus, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte histoire et edition du texte*, ed. P. C. Boeren (Oxford, 1980), pp. xxii–xxiii.

18Burchard of Strasbourg, 'De statu Egypti vel Babylonie', in Arnold abbatis Lubecensis, 'Chronica Slavorum', *MGH SS*, 21, pp. 100–250, here p. 237.

19Marcus Milwright, 'The Balsam of Maṭariyya: An Exploration of a Medieval Panacea', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 66 (2003), pp. 193–209, here p. 193.

20Milwright, 'The Balsam of Maṭariyya', p. 205. Oliver of Paderborn notes that bottles of the resin were frequently used by the sultan as an important gift to fellow rulers. Hoogeweg, p. 263.

21Discussed more fully in: Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya', in *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 59–69; Ugo Zanetti, 'Matarieh, la Sainte Famille et les baumiers', *Analecta Bollandiana: Revue critique d'hagiographie*, 111 (1993), pp. 21–68.

22Burchard of Strasbourg, 'De statu Egypti', p. 238.

23Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine*, p. 44.

24Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London, 2007), p. 167.

25Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', pp. 262–67.

26Hoogeweg, pp. 1–24; see particularly pp. 5–6.

27Oliver's 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' borrows most from the mid-twelfth-century texts of the Sixth Guide and Fretellus. Innominatus VI, 'Incipit Beda de Descripcione eiusdem Terrae Sancte', in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, ed. de Sandoli, vol. 3, pp. 45–75; Fretellus, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte histoire et edition du texte*.

28*Lettres*, IV, p. 102; Hoogeweg, p. 262.

29Zanetti, 'Matarieh, la Sainte Famille et les baumiers', p. 50.

30*Lettres*, IV, p. 103. Oliver of Paderborn notes that Jeremiah was stoned in Tanis itself, but does not mention a church. Hoogeweg, p. 242.

31*Lettres*, IV, p. 103.

32Translation: James of Vitry, 'Letter 59: James of Vitry, Bishop of Acre, to Pope Honorius III', in *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, trans. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (Farnham, 2010), pp. 111–17, here p. 115. 'Orate autem incessanter pro nobis, ut ipse de terra Egypti reducat nos in terram promissionis in columna nubis et ignis, mare rubrum nobis pervium faciat…' *Lettres*, IV, p. 109.

33*Lettres*, IV, p. 103; Hoogeweg, p. 244.

34Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, pp. 28–29. For discussion of the two manuscript traditions, see the edition of J. C. M. Laurent: Magister Thetmarus, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. Johann Karl Moritz Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), pp. 55–60.

35Thietmar, 'Epistola Magistri Thetmari', in *Voyages faits en Terre-Sainte par Thetmar, en 1217, et par Burchard de Strasbourg, en 1175, 1189 ou 1225*, ed. Jules de Saint-Génois (Brussels, 1851), pp. 19–58.

36Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, p. 27.

37Magister Thetmarus, *Peregrinatio*, p. 20; Thietmar, 'Epistola Magistri Thetmari', p.

30.

38‘Quotiescumque dominicum sepulchrum visitaturi peregre adveniunt, absque tributo aliquo, cum erectic vexiliis civitare presumunt, ne forte, cum ad propria reversi essent, aliis Saracenis sibi vicinis vicem rependerent.’ *H.Or.*, p. 322; Lucy-Anne Hunt, ‘Eastern Christian Art and Culture in the Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Periods: Cultural Convergence between Jerusalem, Greater Syria and Egypt’, in *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context, 1187–1250*, ed. R. Hillenbrand et al. (London, 2009), pp. 327–47, here p. 328.

39Christian Müller and Johannes Pahlitzsch, ‘Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians: In the Light of New Documents Related to the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem’, *Arabica*, 51 (2004), pp. 258–90, here pp. 260–61.

40Thietmar, ‘Epistola Magistri Thetmari’, p. 40.

41Magister Thetmarus, *Peregrinatio*, p. 50.

42‘Magister Burchardus’, in *Voyages faits en Terre-Sainte*, pp. 58–61.

43Volker Scior, ‘The Mediterranean in the High Middle Ages: Area of Unity of Diversity? Arnold of Lübeck’s Chronica Slavorum’, in *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Renate Schlesier and Ulrike Zellmann (Münster, 2004), pp. 99–116, here p. 114. The text of Burchard’s journey is also preserved in six other manuscripts, dating variously from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae: chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 39–40.

44‘Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 a 1261 dite du manuscrit de Rothelin’, *RHC Occ.*, pp. 514–15.

45*Ernoul*, pp. 68–69.

46Hoogeweg, pp. 164–65.

47‘Del flum lordan iekes al Mont Synaï ad.viij. iornées. Ilekes dona Noftre Seignur la lei à Moysen. En cel mont gist seinte Katerine, e là sunt mult de abayes de Grissons, e si ad mut beau pais, e mult de bestes savages, ke ne vivent d’autre chose sors de la manne, ke chét de ciel. De la Sépulture de Seint Katerine apertement oyle vent plus suef fleyrant de baume, dunt mult de malades garissent sunt il sunt ennoint.’ ‘Les chemins et pelerinages de la Terre Sainte, texte B’, in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français au XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, ed. Henri Victor Michelant and Gaston Raynaud (Geneva, 1882), pp. 189–99, here p. 197.

48Burchard of Mount Sion, ‘Descriptio Terrae Sanctae’, in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor: Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Lipsiae, 1864), pp. 1–101, here p. 61.

49Ibid., p. 94

50British Library, Royal MS 14, C. vii and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26.

51Aryeh Graboïs, ‘La description de l’Égypte au XIVe siècle par les pèlerins et les voyageurs occidentaux’, *Le Moyen Age*, 109 (2003), pp. 529–43, here pp. 530–31.

52Ibid., pp. 541–42.

Part IV

Textual traditions

11 *Ernoul, Eracles* and the Fifth Crusade

Peter Edbury

Anyone embarking on a study of the Fifth Crusade will be almost certain to start with Oliver of Paderborn. Oliver's narrative is an excellent source – well-written and well-informed by a well-placed eyewitness who went on to become a bishop and then a cardinal of the Catholic Church. The trouble is that it is almost too good: it is detailed and reliable, and it provides a strong sense of the rhythm of the expedition to the East as successive waves of crusaders came and went with each spring and autumn sailing. What is more, there is an English translation.[1] Of course, it is not the only source for the events of 1217–22: the letters of Jacques de Vitry – another future cardinal – and the correspondence of Pope Honorius III will always feature prominently in any discussion of this crusade.[2] But what it means is that other narrative writings tend to be put to one side. The tone was set back in the nineteenth century when Reinhold Röhricht published his extensive narrative anthology under the title of *Testimonia Minora de Quinto Bello Sacro* or, to translate it into English, *Lesser Witnesses to the Fifth Crusade*.[3] And it is two of the works included among these 'lesser witnesses' – *Ernoul* and *Eracles* – that are the subject of what follows. My interest in them arose originally from my work on the history of Lusignan rule in Cyprus and my earliest discussion of them appeared as far back as 1997.[4] The present discussion stems from an AHRC-funded project that, in collaboration with Dr Massimiliano Gaggero, will in due course lead to a new edition of both texts.

The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, otherwise known as *Eracles*, and the text that since the nineteenth century has been labelled the *Chronicle of Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer* are both well known.[5] Together they are, quite simply, the fullest narratives for the crusades and the Latin East to have survived for the period from 1184, the point at which William of Tyre's Latin text ends, onwards into the thirteenth century. They are both written in French and they are both anonymous. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* covers the period from 1100 to 1232; the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre takes the story from 1184 to, in its most extended form, 1277. They have been much used by historians – or, rather, sections of them have been much used.

What we find is that when there is a demonstrably better source, they tend to get overlooked, but when there no other source for a particular anecdote, they are brought into play. Perhaps the most obvious example of this concerns the Fourth Crusade: for the expedition to Constantinople, historians give pride of place to the contemporary eyewitnesses Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, and almost entirely ignore the accounts in our texts, but then the *Chronicle of Ernoul* and the Old French Continuation are allowed to come to prominence when the question of those crusaders who left the main expedition and travelled to the Holy Land comes under scrutiny: Villehardouin and de Clari do not have much to say about them, and they do.[6] This sort of 'cherry picking' betrays an approach to narrative sources that insists on seeing them simply as quarries for information rather than as texts to be considered in their totality.

The other point about the *Chronicle of Ernoul* and the Old French Continuation is that until now they have not been studied much as texts in their own right and, when in the past historians have tried to describe their development and transmission, they have generally got into a muddle. What we find is that basic questions have either not been asked at all or have been answered wrongly: 'When and where were they written?' 'What can we know about the anonymous authors?' 'Where did they get their information and to what extent did they incorporate earlier written materials?' 'How do the different versions relate to one another?' These would seem to be essential if rather obvious matters that need to be addressed before turning to such mundane issues as 'What do they say?' or 'How should we approach them?'

I

The *Chronicle of Ernoul* survives in eight pre-1500 manuscripts and is about 90,000 words long. The manuscripts end variously in 1227, 1229 or 1232 and, although there is reason to suppose that the 1227 version represents the earliest form of the text, all the recensions clearly postdate 1229. Thus, they all mention the elevation of Jacques de Vitry to the cardinalate – this was in the summer of that year; they all refer to the Treaty of Paris which is normally seen as marking the end of the Albigensian Wars – again this is 1229; and they all have a description of the city of Jerusalem that is evidently copied from another source and that from internal evidence would appear to date to after Frederick II's recovery of the Holy City, also in 1229.[7] On the

other hand, I do not think that the 1232 version can have been completed much later than 1232: it ends on a positive note with John of Brienne taking up the reins of government in Constantinople, although in the event John's successes were of short duration, and it would appear that it was later in the 1230s that this version of the text was being adapted to form the basis of the first version of the French Continuation of William of Tyre. Of course, it is one thing to try to pinpoint when the author finished writing but quite another to judge when he started, and it could well be that work was begun in the mid-1220s. The text was evidently written in the West and not in the Latin East, and, from linguistic indications and also from what is known of the distribution of the manuscripts, it evidently circulated in northern and eastern France and in the Francophone areas just beyond the imperial frontier.

Whereas it is possible to identify particular sources employed in the construction of the twelfth-century sections of the *Chronicle of Ernoul*, it is likely that the author of the final version of text was himself responsible for originating the narrative for the closing decades. It is noteworthy that for the events of the Fifth Crusade and then on to the point at which the work ends, the author is sympathetic to the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne. Apropos the crusade, he is pro-John and decidedly anti-Pelagius. This incidentally puts him at odds with the other authors mentioned at the start of this chapter, Oliver of Paderborn, Jacques de Vitry and Pope Honorius III. A key event in these years occurred in 1225 with the marriage of John's daughter and heiress to the Emperor Frederick II. In the past, royal heiresses in Jerusalem had married prominent Western noblemen: Melisende had married Fulk of Anjou; Sibylla, William of Montferrat; and Isabella I, Conrad of Montferrat, Count Henry of Champagne and then King Aimery of Cyprus. Consorts who were less distinguished, in particular Guy of Lusignan and John of Brienne himself, experienced problems in asserting their rule in the face of local noble factions. The marriage of Isabella of Brienne – Isabella II – in 1225 to the emperor ought to have been the most brilliant such union ever to have involved a member of the Jerusalem dynasty. At least for the duration of the marriage, and possibly in perpetuity, it meant the union of the crowns of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the western empire. It should have meant that the entire resources of the empire could now be made available to sustain the Frankish presence in the Holy Land, and it could well be that it was on this note of optimism that our anonymous author set about composing what we now call the *Chronicle of Ernoul*.

What the author did was provide a survey of the fortunes of the twelfth-century Latin kingdom with a detailed account of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and then trace the subsequent history down to his own time. He gave considerable attention to both the Fourth[8] and the Fifth Crusades,[9] intertwining this narrative quite skilfully with an account of Frederick's rise to power in Sicily and the empire, including his triumph over the adversity of his childhood, the defeat of his rival, Otto of Brunswick, his imperial coronation in 1220 and then his marriage.[10] What is striking is that until we get to 1225 and the marriage, the narrator is generally sympathetic to Frederick. For example, so far as the Fifth Crusade is concerned, the narrator explains that although it was the belief that Frederick was coming with a large army that stopped the crusaders concluding a deal with the Egyptians that would restore most, but not all, the former kingdom of Jerusalem to Christian rule, he is not blamed for not going. Instead, the French King, Philip Augustus, is credited with a remark to the effect that the crusaders were foolish not to agree the deal that was on offer, and the author clearly accepted Frederick's contention that he was unable to go because he was fearful of the Muslim population of Sicily, the possible intervention on its behalf by the ruler of north Africa and the continued threat of noble disaffection in southern Italy.[11] But then, once the marriage had taken place, the mood changes. Frederick and John of Brienne fell out, and we now have accounts of how Frederick treated his empress, John's daughter, abominably; how he quarrelled with the pope; how he prevaricated over going on crusade and was excommunicated; how his negotiations with the Sultan al-Kāmil were devious; how he persecuted the Templars and generally threw his weight around in the East, while John of Brienne, who had stayed in the West after his daughter's marriage, led an invasion of Frederick's lands in southern Italy at the behest of the pope and then, at the very end of the 1232 version, went off to try to give much-needed leadership to the ailing Latin empire of Constantinople.[12] We might note that some of the charges levelled against Frederick seem not to be corroborated elsewhere and therefore deserve to be treated with some scepticism.

The *Chronicle of Ernoul* begins with the founding of the Latin kingdom. About a quarter of the narrative covers the history of the Latin East before 1184, the date at which William of Tyre's Latin text ends. The events of 1185–87 are then told in considerable detail and take us approximately to the halfway point in the book. For this early material, the anonymous author relied to a large extent on other

writings that do not survive. It is possible to identify various distinct strands in the pre-1187 accounts. There are accounts of the topography of Jerusalem and the sacred geography of the Holy Land that have clearly been lifted from earlier works.[13] There is an interest in the counts of Flanders and their crusading credentials which, along with descriptions of events in the Byzantine Empire, can be seen as building up to the story of the Fourth Crusade and the elevation of Count Baldwin of Flanders to the imperial throne.[14] It might be noted, however, that this concern with Flanders disappears once the Fourth Crusade had taken place, and that might argue against the suggestion that the author had links there.[15]

Then there are the writings of the historical Ernoul. Most of the *Chronicle of Ernoul* manuscripts – but not those of the 1232 recension – identify Ernoul, the squire of Balian of Ibelin, as the original author of an incident that took place in May 1187.[16] Whereas it is possible that Ernoul was responsible for an account of that incident and that incident alone, it is my belief that he wrote an extended history of the closing years of the 'First Kingdom' and that we can identify a number of passages from his pen that now only survive embedded in the chronicle that bears his name with a reasonable degree of certainty. Ernoul would appear to have described the fall of Jerusalem in October 1187 and the events leading up to it in such a way as to show that the one person who emerged from this time of humiliation and disgrace with credit was his own master, Balian of Ibelin. In the narrative of the years 1185–87, Balian appears repeatedly, always cast in a positive light. His great achievement comes in what I believe to have been the climax of Ernoul's original narrative, his successful negotiation of the surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin in October 1187 which allowed most of the Christian population to be escorted to safety. Balian, the determined negotiator, is the hero, and Saladin, his foil, keeps his side of the bargain.[17] But after that, Balian is barely mentioned and I would suggest that it was with that episode that Ernoul's text ended.[18] What of course we cannot know is how far the compiler of the chronicle working in the late 1220s and early 1230s edited what Ernoul originally wrote.

Once we get beyond 1187, the information is much weaker; for some episodes of the Third Crusade, such as Richard the Lionheart's conquest of Cyprus in 1191 or his campaigns in southern Palestine in 1191–92, it is thin and inaccurate. Elsewhere we become conscious that we are treading a fine line between a faithful record of things past and romance. Little anecdotes – the Green Knight, the John Gale

story, which exists elsewhere in other versions,[19] the story of Henry of Champagne and the Assassins – suggest that we are on the cusp between fiction and reality.[20] Other episodes, such as the beginnings of the dispute between the princes of Antioch and successive rulers of Cilician Armenia, need to be reappraised in the light of this perceived weakness.[21] It would seem that the anonymous author, having said farewell to Ernoul and his account of the fall of Jerusalem, is short of hard information and, for the period from around 1188 until about 1200, is relying on memory of questionable value. But then, with the beginnings of the future Frederick II and the start of the Fourth Crusade, things start to look up. Some episodes are told in considerable detail – notably the circumstances of the death or disappearance of the Emperor Baldwin of Flanders in 1205.[22] On the whole, the author has rather limited and patchy information about affairs in the Latin East, although he does shed some interesting light on the career of John of Brienne as King of Jerusalem.[23]

So we have an anonymous author writing in the late 1220s and early 1230s who wants to explain how Jerusalem was lost and how, despite all the effort that went into it, it was not recovered until 1229; he also wants to explain why the Latins conquered Constantinople and how that venture was to prove so vulnerable that John of Brienne was sent to try to turn things round; and he wants to explain how Frederick had overcome the problems of his childhood and his inheritance and come, thanks to both his position of power and his 1225 marriage to the heiress of Jerusalem, to be seen as the great hope for the future. And he does all this well or, at least, he would have done so were it not for what happened next. The initial optimism in 1225 was dashed and the author had to change tack: Frederick passes from being the great hope of Christendom to being a pariah. He has quarrelled with John of Brienne – although the *Chronicle of Ernoul* does not give Frederick's refusal to allow John to retain the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem as his reason; he has quarrelled with the pope, with the northern Italian cities and a wide variety of interests in the East. He is duplicitous and excommunicate, while John of Brienne continues to be seen as the proverbial 'knight in shining armour'.

II

My former PhD student Philip Handyside has argued that the French translation of William of Tyre can be dated to the years 1219–23, the

end of the reign of King Philip Augustus, and that the work was done in France, most likely in the Paris region.[24] His date would suggest that this major undertaking should be seen against the background of interest in the crusades and the Latin East generated by the Fifth Crusade. I have argued elsewhere that the translation passed into circulation without any continuation being added at the outset[25] and, indeed, a careful analysis of the manuscripts shows that the fundamental characteristics that allow us to identify a significant bifurcation in the translation's stemma were already in place before the continuation arrived on the scene.

The next milestone was that someone in the West – I would date this to the mid- to late 1230s – decided to extend the French William of Tyre by splicing it together with the 1232 version of the *Chronicle of Ernoul*. Until very recently I would have said that what this continuator did was simply cut off the pre-1184 material from the *Chronicle of Ernoul*, except for a few passages that he repositioned later in the text, and paste the remainder (about three-quarters of the *Chronicle*) on to the end of French William of Tyre; thus was born the first version of the continuation which ended, like the *Chronicle of Ernoul*, in 1232.[26] I now believe that what happened was rather more sophisticated: it would appear that, in addition to the process I have just described, the original continuator took other passages from the early part of the *Chronicle of Ernoul* and interpolated them into William's text at appropriate points, the most significant of these being the account of the visit of Thoros of Armenia to the kingdom of Jerusalem that would appear to date from the 1160s.[27] This original form of the continuation with the interpolations survives in just one manuscript, the British Library Yates Thompson MS 12, a manuscript that has been the subject of a recent study by Jaroslav Folda, who has argued that it dates to the 1240s and is of English provenance.[28] It would then seem that owners of existing manuscripts of the French translation of William of Tyre came to hear that there was now an extended version of their history and arranged for the 1184–1232 material to be added on at the end of their copies. So we now have manuscripts comprising both the French William of Tyre and the *Chronicle of Ernoul* material from 1184 onwards, but without the interpolated passages.

There are a total of 45 pre-1500 manuscripts of the Old French William of Tyre with a continuation in public collections.[29] Some are damaged at the end, but of these 45, 38 contain, or once contained, a text for the period 1184–1232 entirely drawn from the *Chronicle of*

Ernoul. A thorough examination of detailed readings to be found in all these manuscripts for the continuation reveals that the text in Yates Thompson 12 most closely resembles that found in any of the *Ernoul* manuscripts, while, for the translation, the chapter divisions to be found in this manuscript almost exactly coincide with those in William's Latin text.[30] On both counts, it is therefore going to find a place at or near the head of the stemma, and it is therefore of pivotal importance.

As already mentioned, one problem with the *Chronicle of Ernoul* is that, for the Third Crusade and the history of the Latin East in the years that follow, the account is inadequate. By the mid-1240s, these shortcomings were compounded by the fact that with the defeat of the Hohenstaufen in the East, the Barons' Crusade, the loss of Jerusalem and the 1244 defeat at La Forbie, to mention a few of the more important episodes, much of interest had taken place since the narrative broke off in 1232. The upshot was that someone working in the Latin East in the 1240s embarked on a thorough revision that gave rise to the so-called Colbert-Fontainebleau continuation of William of Tyre – in other words, the version of the text as it appears in the large print in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*. This redactor did two things. First, he expanded the Third Crusade narrative and with it some of the passages relating to 1186–87 that I believe were the work of the original Ernoul. The implications of this revision deserve careful attention. We need to distinguish between the material added in the 1240s and what Ernoul, who *may* have been at work before his master Balian of Ibelin's death, apparently in 1193, originally wrote.[31] Recognizing this much later additional material for what it is could well result in a major re-evaluation of the evidence for the circumstances leading up to Hattin.[32] Second, the Colbert-Fontainebleau author also produced a completely new account of events from 1205 onwards, taking the story on beyond 1232 to the 1240s and the time of writing. On the other hand, he did not make significant alterations to the *Chronicle of Ernoul*'s account of the Fourth Crusade. The *Ernoul* narrative concluded the story of the Fourth Crusade and the death of Baldwin of Flanders with a rapid survey of events in the Latin empire of Constantinople until the late 1220s before moving on to tell of Frederick II's victory over Otto of Brunswick and Otto's defeat at the hands of Philip Augustus at Bouvines in 1214. It is at this point that the Colbert-Fontainebleau author stopped using the *Chronicle of Ernoul* and, doubling back to 1205, embarked on a history of Latin East down to the 1240s,

incorporating within it an account of the Fifth Crusade.[33] He would appear to have reflected the standpoint of those nobles in the East, prominent among whom were Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard, who had supported John of Brienne as king, who, after John's departure for the West in 1222, had tried to work with Frederick II and who only found themselves joining the Ibelins in out-and-out opposition to Frederick in the course of the 1230s.

So after the Battle of Bouvines and the demise of Otto of Brunswick, the two narratives go their separate ways. The problem is that as the Colbert-Fontainebleau version is presented in the big print in the *RHC* edition, it would be natural to assume that it, rather than the *Ernoul* narrative, warrants more attention. In the nineteenth century, scholarly opinion considered that although the Colbert-Fontainebleau text only survives in two complete manuscripts, it was the authentic version and the *Ernoul* text represented an abridgement; unfortunately this view was resurrected in the 1970s by Ruth Morgan.[34] In fact, it is the other way round: the *Ernoul* text came first and the Colbert-Fontainebleau version was a later, extended version.

III

So what do these two narratives have to tell about the Fifth Crusade itself? The writer of the *Chronicle of Ernoul* clearly approved of John of Brienne and Jacques de Vitry and disapproved of Cardinal Pelagius; there are also places where this author seems to act as a mouthpiece for ill-used ordinary crusaders. I am not going to discuss the narrative of the actual fighting, but there are a number of incidents that deserve mention. We are told, for example, that the crusade was called in response to John of Brienne's appeal for aid (p. 409); among the preachers was Jacques de Vitry who, when elected Bishop of Acre by the cathedral chapter, only accepted when ordered by pope (p. 410); John of Brienne took the lead in initiating the attack on Egypt, the argument being that if the Christians could win either Damietta or Alexandria, they could expect to recover the kingdom of Jerusalem (p. 414); once news of the siege of Damietta reached the pope, he put pressure on those who had already taken the cross to set out, but he cancelled the vows of those who were considered unsuitable and instead took their money, leading to complaints that they now lacked the wherewithal to return home (p. 416); the pope appointed two cardinals as his legates: 'Cardinal Robert died and Cardinal Pelagius lived. This was a great pity, and he did much evil there as you will

hear later in this account' (p. 417);[35] as the siege of Damietta proceeded, the author told of a disloyal Muslim who feared that the sultan would betray his garrison inside Damietta just as Saladin had betrayed his garrison, including the man's father, in Acre at the time of the Third Crusade (pp. 419–20); when Damietta eventually fell with large numbers of the inhabitants dead in an epidemic, John and Pelagius quarrelled, with Pelagius excommunicating all those who were in John's part of the city (p. 426); John left Damietta to go first to Armenia and then to Acre, leaving Pelagius in control, and Pelagius took oppressive measures to stop rank-and-file crusaders leaving (pp. 427–29); Pelagius ignored a warning about a Muslim fleet that went on to raid Cyprus and inflict enormous damage on Christian shipping (pp. 429–30);[36] two Christian clerics sought out the sultan, an episode to which I shall return shortly (pp. 431–35); negotiations for the return of Jerusalem were shelved as Frederick was expected, but Frederick had good reason to remain in Italy (pp. 435–38); against John of Brienne's wishes and against the advice of the military orders and the local barons, Pelagius and the crusaders advanced on Cairo; they came to what might be described as a 'sticky end' and it was left to John of Brienne and Jacques de Vitry to surrender themselves and negotiate with the sultan as best they could (pp. 439–47).

One episode in particular deserves comment. Two Christian clerics went to the sultan with the avowed intention of converting him to the Christian faith; the sultan consulted his own religious advisers, who told him that under Islamic law this was a capital offence and that they should be put to death; instead, the sultan, impressed by the qualities of these two men, had them escorted back to the Christian camp. Although neither of the clerics is named, historians have had no hesitation in identifying them as St Francis and his companion Illuminatus, and in regarding this incident as another version of a story elsewhere found in the writings of Jacques de Vitry and Thomas of Celano and repeated by later writers. This episode has been the subject of a monograph by John Tolan[37] and, especially as I can make no claims to expertise in the career of St Francis and in the hagiographical traditions that developed soon after his death, I shall therefore not discuss the content of this narrative. However, the place of this episode in the development of the text does warrant some comment. An analysis of the manuscripts shows that it is absent from the earliest recension of the *Chronicle of Ernoul*, the recension that ends with the events of 1227, and so it would appear to have been a later addition. It is not the only passage to have been introduced as an

afterthought: the story of the Saracen witch who put an enchantment on the Christian army on the eve of the Battle of Hattin is another, as is the story of how, on the eve of the Fourth Crusade, the sultan of Egypt sent envoys to Venice to bribe the Venetians to deflect the crusaders from attacking Egypt.[38] As explained earlier, the 1227 recension was completed after 1229 and it is clear that the other recensions would have followed in quick succession. Precisely when the passage relating to the Fifth Crusade – minus the St Francis episode – was first drafted is an open question. If the theory that the marriage of Frederick II and Isabella of Brienne provided the initial impetus for composing this work is correct, and the abrupt change of attitude towards Frederick after 1225 can be seen as an argument for supposing that the earlier portions were in draft within a comparatively short time of the marriage taking place, then we may well imagine that this story was only added in the afterglow of the saint's canonization in 1228, at which, incidentally, it seems probable that John of Brienne was present.[39] But we are still left with a conundrum: why did the author not name him?

The author of the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* did not credit John of Brienne with initiating either the crusade itself – this he rightly indicated was the work of Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council[40] – or the expedition to Damietta, and although he mentioned St Francis's presence in the army at Damietta, there is nothing on his visit to the sultan.[41] There are more references than in *Ernoul* to named Latin Syrian nobles and prelates, and the descriptions of the actual fighting are more graphic. So, for example, we have what I understand to be an early description of a flail – a three-foot iron baton with a two-foot chain and an iron ball on the end with six spikes wielded by a German – and the effective use to which it was put.[42] The *Eracles* account gives far less detail on the collapse of the campaign in 1221 and although it notes the hostility between John of Brienne and Pelagius and is hostile towards Pelagius, this element is only introduced late on in the narrative; the conclusion places the blame for the loss of Damietta on the 'sin and foolishness and on the pride and malice of the clergy and men of religion' rather than laying it explicitly at Pelagius's door.[43] It should be stressed that the Colbert-Fontainebleau account of the Fifth Crusade is not a revision of *Ernoul* in the way that some of the passages relating to the Third Crusade are revisions, but forms an independent narrative which, although composed later, is still of considerable value. It is the work of someone who was writing from the perspective of the Latin Syrian

settlers, but who was clearly interested in the actuality of warfare and who, unlike the author of the *Chronicle of Ernoul*, could on occasion be critical of John of Brienne.[44]

Near the start of this chapter, I suggested that narratives should not be treated simply as quarries for information, but should be regarded as texts to be considered in their totality. It seems to me that it is a sign of intellectual impoverishment which allows us to ignore a narrative account because there is a 'better' one elsewhere, only to bring it into play when, exceptionally, it has a distinctive anecdote or an insight of its own. The two texts that are the subject of this chapter deserve better – they have their weaknesses as well as their strengths, but once we see them for what they are and can appreciate how they came to construct the past in the ways they do, we can approach them in a manner that is much more mature and much more constructive.

Notes

1 Hoogeweg, pp. 159–282; *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1229*, ed. E. Peters (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 49–139.

2 *Lettres*; P.-V. Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216/1227). Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)* (Leiden, 2013). This largely supersedes Pressutti. See also *Bullarium Cyprium*, ed. C. Schabel, C. Perrat and J. Richard (3 vols, Nicosia, 2010–12).

3 *TM*.

4 Peter W. Edbury, 'The Lyon *Eracles* and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre', in *Monjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar et al. (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 139–53.

5 'L'estoire de Eracles empereur', *RHC Occ.*, vol. 2, pp. 1–481; *Ernoul*.

6 *Ernoul*, pp. 340–43, 352–57, 360; 'L'estoire de Eracles', pp. 246–49, 256–63.

7 *Ernoul*, pp. 200 (speaking of the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem in the past tense), 269 (Treaty of Paris), 410 (Jacques de Vitry). For the manuscripts, see Jaroslav Folda, 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre: a Handlist', *Scriptorium*, 27 (1973), pp. 90–95.

8 *Ernoul*, pp. 336–90.

9 Ibid., pp. 409–47.

10 Ibid., pp. 326–29, 398–405, 436–38, 449–50.

11 Ibid., pp. 435–38.

12 Ibid., pp. 451–72 *passim*.

13 Ibid., pp. 62–80, 107–14, 121–25, 190–209. For translations of these passages, see *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, ed. Denys Pringle (Farnham, 2012), pp. 135–63.

14 *Ernoul*, pp. 11, 16, 20–22, 32–34, 46–47, 89–96, 126–29, 245–47, 287, 332–33.

15 For the sole reference (Count Ferrand at the Battle of Bouvines), see ibid., pp. 403–04.

16 Ibid., p. 149.

17I would propose that Ernoul was responsible for all or most of the narrative from the closing years of Baldwin IV's reign to the fall of Jerusalem. Ibid., pp. 114–19, 129–63, 167–76, 186–87, 211–35. For a discussion of whether he wrote any of the earlier material, see Peter W. Edbury, 'Thoros of Armenia and the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham, 2014), pp. 181–90.

18For two brief mentions, see *Ernoul*, pp. 289, 293.

19Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 83–84.

20*Ernoul*, pp. 237, 251–52, 255–56, 323–24.

21Ibid., pp. 319–22.

22Ibid., pp. 378–90.

23Guy Perry, '"Scandalia … tam in oriente quam in occidente": The Briennes in East and West, 1213–1221', *Crusades*, 10 (2011), pp. 63–77.

24Philip Handyside, 'The Old French Translation of William of Tyre' (PhD thesis, Cardiff University, 2012).

25Peter W. Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, 6 (2007), pp. 69–105, here pp. 73–74.

26Peter W. Edbury, 'New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 107–13, here p. 108.

27*Ernoul*, pp. 25, 27–30. For this episode, see Edbury, 'Thoros of Armenia', pp. 183–90. See also G. Dédéyan, 'Un projet de colonisation arménienne dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem sous Amaury Ier (1162–1174)', in *Le Partage du Monde: Échanges et Colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris, 1998), pp. 101–40, here pp. 115–33.

28J. Folda, 'The Panorama of the Crusades, 1096 to 1218, as seen in Yates Thompson MS.12 in the British Library' in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, ed. George H. Brown and Linda E. Voigts (Tempe, 2011), pp. 253–80.

29See Folda, 'Manuscripts', pp. 90–95.

30Edbury, 'New Perspectives', p. 109; Edbury, 'The French Translation', p. 104 (where the Yates Thompson MS 12 is F38). The Yates Thompson manuscript has not been utilized in any printed edition. For the *Chronicle of Ernoul* material as employed as the Continuation, see 'L'estoire de Eracles', variant G *passim*. For the Fifth Crusade and the events up to the year 1232 (ending at p. 379), this is printed in Roman type at the foot of the page.

31When precisely Ernoul was writing is unclear. There is nothing in the sections that would seem to have been from his pen to suggest that Balian was dead. However, if his work was this early, and assuming as I think we must that he wrote in French prose, his narrative would be one the earliest French vernacular prose histories.

32For a tentative beginning, see Peter W. Edbury, 'Gerard of Ridefort and the Battle of Le Cresson (1 May 1187): The Developing Narrative Tradition', in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Farnham, 2012), pp. 45–60.

33The break comes at 'L'estoire de Eracles', p. 305; cf. *Ernoul*, p. 407.

34Margaret R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973).

35*Ernoul*, p. 417: 'Le cardenal Robiers i fu mors. Et li cardenals Pelages vescui; dont

ce fu grans damages, et moult i fist de mal, si comme vous orés dire en aucun tans, si apriès, en cest conte.'

36For this incident, although without any mention of Pelagius's negligence, see Oliver of Paderborn in *Christian Society and the Crusades*, p. 107.

37John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford, 2009), especially Chapter 2. See also P. Annala, 'Brother Francis and the Fifth Crusade', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Kurt V. Jensen et al. (Helsinki, 2005), 107–19, here pp. 111–13, 115–16.

38*Ernoul*, pp. 163–64, 344–46. Another example is the story of al-Kamil calling on the caliph, 'the Saracen pope', for aid during the Fifth Crusade. Ibid., p. 421.

39Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, p. 57.

40'L'estoire de Eracles', p. 319.

41Ibid., p. 348. There does, however, appear to be a lacuna at this point.

42Ibid., p. 328. I thank Dr Robert Jones for his advice.

43Ibid., pp. 348–52 *passim*. The quote can be found on p. 352: 'Ensi fu perdue la noble cité de Damiate par peché et par folie et par l'orgueil et la malice dou clergé et des religions…'

44Ibid., pp. 307, 378–79, 382.

12‘Rome, vos estes refroidie d’aidier la terre de Surie’

Originality and reception of Huon of Saint-Quentin’s critical discourse[1]

Esther Dehoux, Amandine Le Roux and Matthieu Rajohnson

The Fifth Crusade marked a significant stage in the development of forms of opposition to the crusades in the West: the comments its resounding failure proved crucial in the elaboration of the criticism of crusading that was to become more widespread at the end of the thirteenth century.[2] Among them, Huon’s analysis of the event draws the attention because of its precocity and the way it was passed on, at least up until the end of the century, thus perpetuating a critical memory of the crusade long after the event. Writing in the immediate aftermath of the expedition, probably as early as 1221, this French medieval *trouvère*, whose life remains quite unknown, composed a song, ‘Jérusalem se plaint et li païs’, and a poem, the ‘Complainte de Jérusalem contre Rome’,[3] that give us a virulent denunciation of the way that the crusade was led. Adopting the reproaches that were often made to Pelagius, Huon also takes the opportunity to criticize, through the legate, the attitude of the entire Church towards the crusade, and in the process initiates new accusations that will be developed after him.

Huon’s critique and the redefinition of crusading

The denunciation, by poets, of the different ways in which the crusading movement had faltered or failed was, naturally, not new in the 1220s; some criticism had already appeared in the twelfth century, particularly among the *trouvères* and troubadours.[4] Compared to earlier periods, however, the Fifth Crusade seems to have given such criticism a new *élan*, with a more caustic tone, and it was directed much more against the Church itself, whereas former poets’

accusations had not hesitated to be equally harsh towards the lay warriors.[5]

Huon is a part of this movement in that he blames the Church alone, through its legate Pelagius, for the failure of the crusade. He withdraws all responsibility for the debacle from the knights, or even from their enemies, since Huon is keen to remind us that the Muslims tried to negotiate[6] and, according to him, they were in the event almost defeated – that is to say, before the legate betrayed the crusaders. Pelagius is considered not only as a bad military leader, lacking in martial and strategic skills, but also as a true traitor, who 'by deceit, got Damietta returned to the sultan. He thus did what no one else ever did'.[7] Huon explains the treachery further:

Or ascoutés com faitement	Now listen how in fact
Li cardonaus trait no gent.	The cardinal treated our people.
Je le vos dirai a bries mos:	I will tell you this briefly:
A Coradin[8] prist parlement	He negotiated with Coradin
Et conferma par sairement	And took the oath
Que il li renderoit les nos,	To give him our possessions,
Et il si fist, bien dire l'os.[9]	And he did it, dare I say it.

If the crusade failed, in the poet's mind, it is only because of the legate's treachery, and he repeatedly attacks him in the 'Complainte de Jérusalem', depicting him as an evil cardinal or a new Cain.[10]

In addition, the denigration of the legate's actions during the crusade is an opportunity to attack, through Pelagius, the attitude of the whole Church he represents and particularly the papacy, symbolized by a diabolized 'Rome':

Rome, vos fustes la pucele,	Rome, you were a maiden,
Virge loiaus et pure et bele;	A loyal, pure and beautiful virgin;
Mais or vait la cose autrement:	But now things are different.
Il mesciet mult la damoisele	She is indecent, the young lady
Qui bone est, puis devient ancele	Who is good at first, and then becomes a slave
Et son cors livre por argent.[11]	And gives her body for money.

Rome becomes a new Babylon, as opposed to Jerusalem, and its avarice and cupidity are tackled at length, particularly in Huon's 'Complainte'. Of the 26 stanzas that comprise the poem, 11 are devoted to denouncing more or less directly – sometimes very harshly

– the immorality and covetousness of clerics.[12] With a clear anticlerical tone, Huon's criticism of the Fifth Crusade thus resorts to a larger and more moral denunciation of the churchmen's vices, designated them, as a whole, as responsible for the failures of the crusade. Due to their lack of probity and concern for the Holy Land, the clergy diverted the crusade from its true goal.

Contrary to many other poets who will express similar ideas soon after him, Huon's target, when he thinks about diversion, is not the Albigensian Crusade,[13] but vow redemption. Addressing the clerics, he accuses them:

Segnor, qui les pardons portés,	Sirs, you who bear the pardons,
Poi vos costent et les vendés;	They don't cost you much, and you sell them;
C'est pechiés et ovre vilaine.[14]	That is a sin and a vile action.

What is denounced here, along with the selling of pardons, is the redemption of vows, and here lies a truly novel aspect of Huon's discourse, since such condemnations of the latter do not seem to have taken place earlier. Although vow redemptions were not a new phenomenon in Huon's day, their development was still quite recent at the time. Their use, in place of the previous and more established commutations of crusade vows, only really takes off during the thirteenth century.[15] Huon's account is therefore a precious testimony, because of its precocity, concerning the increase in vow redemptions. While other sources give very few indications about it at the time, Huon's work allows us to argue that this practice was already well established and may have had a real impact on the Fifth Crusade's recruitment long before the well-known abuses in the rest of the century.[16] Huon senses and testifies to excesses, a critique he initiates and which others poets will later reaffirm.[17]

The denunciation of the clergy's cupidity nevertheless does not serve to critique the Church's values from a moralizing perspective: Huon has no reforming ambitions. His charges against the churchmen's greed and vow redemptions do not aim to correct the Church, but to attack their practical consequences: the loss of crusaders ready to save the Holy Land, the diversion of warriors from the fight:

Rome, on set bien a escient	Rome, it is very well known
Que tu descroisas por argent	That you, for money, took off the

	cross
Ciax qui por Dieu erent croisié.	Of them who took the cross for God.
La erras tu trop malement,	Here you lapsed very badly,
Car puis ont pechié mortelement. [18]	For then they mortally sinned.

According to Huon's testimony, vow redemptions already affected available men, who could have gone East, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. He offers here a novel perspective on the Fifth Crusade's recruitment by indicating that abuses of this practice deprived the campaign of true warriors – and not only people unable to fight, as has long been supposed to be the case at that time. Vow redemptions led crusaders to 'se décroiser' – that is, to take off the cross. Here the poet goes so far as to create a neologism to signify abandonment of the expedition: the verb is used here for the very first time, and in both his texts,[19] which shows the importance and the gravity of this '*décroisement*' for him. Indeed, it might be said that the clergy aimed, through vow redemptions, to sell not only the right to give up one's pledge to crusade, but also the pardons conferred by the act of crusading itself.[20] Yet with the very form of his neologism, Huon implies that these practices can in no way be considered a fulfilment of one's vow, but represent a true disengagement.[21] It can even be a perjury, since it is presented as a sin, for it does not answer God's demand. But, significantly, Huon puts the blame not on the laymen, who commit the sin, but solely on the preachers, who misled them. He therefore does not only criticize the way in which the crusade was led by Pelagius, but also the very organization of the campaign before the crusade, thus blaming the clergy as a whole for its failure.

This idea of the immorality and cupidity of clerics as the main – indeed, as the only – cause of the faltering and failures of the crusading movement obviously has great currency in poetry throughout the thirteenth century, including among the other *trouvères* who directly follow Huon.[22] It dissociates the clergy's conduct from the attitude of the laymen, whom Huon praises and whom he clears of any responsibility for the defeat.[23] The Church's guilt is contrasted with the innocence of the crusaders, and particularly that of John of Brienne, who is presented as a victim of Pelagius and not as a fellow commander.[24] The opposition between John and the legate thus accentuates the one between Rome and Jerusalem: the rapacity of the clerics, the deceit of Pelagius and the decline of Rome are set against the merits of the lay knights, their head, John, and their true goal,

Jerusalem. In the end, Huon suggests an original disassociation between crusading and the Church, the latter no longer having any place in the former. Even the military orders are on the receiving end of the poet's wrath, as Huon saves his praise for the lay warriors devoid of any religious status.[25]

In sum, what we can read in this radical rejection of the Church and its attitude towards the Eastern expedition is therefore an opportunity to redefine crusading, seen as the laity's responsibility, first and foremost, and this has to be linked with Huon's likely audience, which was clearly more courtly than clerical. While haranguing 'Rome', it is actually French knighthood – and, in particular, the king[26] – that Huon appeals to. Removing their responsibility for the defeat seems to be a way to preserve their image – to assure them that if it was done only by them, the crusade would have been a success. In the end, Huon's severe criticism of the expedition does not aspire to stop the crusading movement, as is the case with other detractors of the Fifth Crusade who will come after him, but, rather, to encourage it, on new premises and to urge laymen to take the cross.

In order to stimulate the latter, the *trouvère* does not hesitate to remind them of models to follow in the fight against the Muslims, evoking Charles Martel as well as Roland.[27] Imbued with a chivalric rather than a religious ideal, his conception of crusading becomes a matter of true revenge, at least as much as faith: what has to be done is to 'avenge / Those who, for God, are beyond [the sea] in prison / And to release their souls from peril'.[28]

But Huon also points out what is, for him, the true goal of the crusade. For although he laments an expedition in Egypt that did not even reach Palestine, it is Jerusalem he is mourning and that he mentions well before Damietta. He repeatedly insists on the Holy City's name, depicting it as the only real destination of the crusade. For him, the failure of the Fifth Crusade and the loss of Damietta revive the memory of Jerusalem's storming as if it had just happened: the personified city desperately 'begs' for help,[29] in a way that legitimizes the war, since it is demanded by Jerusalem itself – and sometimes even by God.[30] Even after failure, the spirit of the crusading movement and the will to fight live on in Huon's mind.

It is this warlike spirit, and this encouragement to take the cross, that seems to have been particularly appreciated in Huon's discourse, and which probably explains why his legacy continued until the end of the thirteenth century.

Transmission and adaptations of Huon's work

Huon's criticisms of the Fifth Crusade came in response to a very specific situation. The circulation of these criticisms, however, goes beyond the aftermath of the Egyptian expedition. This allows us to examine how the crusade was remembered and criticized throughout the century. Moreover, when we examine the changes made by the copyists of Huon's works, we can begin to see the motivations behind preserving his texts and the way in which they were perceived. Huon's texts were not kept untouched: the versions that survive, spread mainly in northern France, vary a great deal.[31] This is particularly true of the 'Complainte'. There are substantial variations, additions and cuts in the text, as we turn from one manuscript to another.

Apart from these differences, what seems to emerge at first from the evolution of the reception of Huon's discourse is a slight mitigation of its anticlerical tone. Arié Serper, in his edition of Huon's works, noted that the stanzas missing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Français 12471 and in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76F5 were among the most critical in the 'Complainte';[32] it is also the case, to a lesser extent, in the copy in the Bodleian Library, Digby MS 86. The Paris manuscript, for example, lacks verses demanding that Pelagius should be hanged because of his guilt,[33] as well as a line which names the cardinal's godfather as Judas.[34] The same spirit of appeasement can be found in copies of *Jerusalem se plaint et li pais*. In this text, a reference to avid priests, ready to 'sell their sheep to the wolf for some deniers', has disappeared in the version in the *Chansonnier du Roy* (BnF, MS Français 844).[35]

But it is not correct to hypothesize that these omissions are an attempt to alleviate the reproaches made against the clergy. Whilst such efforts are made, they are limited to deleting a few short and select passages. This does not suffice to take away the full critical dimension of Huon's works, which remain a diatribe against the Church. All four surviving versions of the 'Complainte' contain the stanza describing Rome's decay, as well as the denunciation of the churchmen's greed and its consequence, the redemption of vows.

The copyists thus preserved the most novel aspect in Huon's critique and it is likely that it was this specific denunciation that ensured that the poem circulated throughout a century when vow redemptions, as well as papal taxation, grew in importance.

In retaining Huon's accusations against the clerics, some copies even provide a moralizing reading of his 'Complainte', as does, for

example, the version in the Bodleian Library. Commissioned between 1271 and 1283 by a layman from Worcestershire, it contains doctrinal and edifying texts,[36] and its moral perspective is also conveyed in its version of Huon's poem. The 'Complainte' has been purged of the detailed stanzas concerning the Egyptian expedition; Jerusalem itself occupies a minor place; the exaltation of the war and the valour of the crusaders are no longer the core of the poem. However, a stanza has been added to praise the merits of confession. In this way, Huon's discourse becomes less about exalting crusading than about pondering a moral message. It serves as an incentive to repent, not to exhort the audience to take up arms and liberate the Holy Land.

All the others versions insist, on the contrary, on the martial duty that the *trouvère* defended. The desire to echo the likely taste of the lay audience explains this predilection for feats of arms. It elucidates some choices and omissions visible in the texts, particularly where the song 'Jerusalem se plaint et li pais' is concerned, as it is shorter than the 'Complainte' and more focused on the necessity to fight to avenge God and earn one's salvation – and the public clearly singled out the two texts and considered them different, since no manuscript puts them both together, and the very nature of the volumes that include one or the other is very different.[37] The repeated images of knights in the Parisian *Chansonnier du Roy* indicate the typically aristocratic motivations which lie behind how these manuscripts were put together and in the choice that was made to include Huon's song.[38] 'Jerusalem se plaint' perfectly answers to the expectations of a lay audience who were looking for a re-evaluation of the crusade and of the role of knighthood within it – and this would have been easier once the text's attack against 'décroisement' and against knights who had taken off the cross was omitted.[39] The song was thus received, by the lay aristocracy, as a way of rewriting their ancestors' deeds in Egypt, transferring the whole responsibility for the defeat over on the clergy.

Through the circulation of Huon's discourse, a favourable memory of the champions of the Fifth Crusade was fostered. That is why the denunciation of the Church's faults was not suppressed, even if it was occasionally mitigated in these copies. It preserved a glorified representation of the crusaders, as opposed to the ecclesiastical institution.

The fact remains, however, that Huon's discourse deals with a tremendous defeat. While the audience appreciated his positive take on the lay warriors' role in the campaign, his lamentations over the

loss of Damietta and his denunciation of the abandonment of Jerusalem also explain why these works were passed on in a century when the accumulation of new crusade failures reactivated the memory of the previous ones. MS 113 in the Bern Burgerbibliothek was clearly made in this way. Composed at the end of the thirteenth century, it contains texts that emphasize the importance of Jerusalem and its loss.

For instance, MS 113 includes a description of the Holy City's situation, and Pierre de Beauvais's *Olympiade*, which lists all the occasions when Jerusalem was besieged or captured, from Nebuchadnezzar to Saladin. The end of the 'Crusader States' in the Holy Land thus served to revive the memory of the loss of Jerusalem itself, just as the failure of the Fifth Crusade had done for Huon. Indeed, one could say that this is the key point of the text, since the version of the 'Complainte' in this manuscript stresses, more than ever, that the clergy were neglecting the 'call of Jerusalem'.

The same spirit probably guided the transcription of the poem in the Hague manuscript, where it is included after a description of the final loss of Acre in 1291. Nevertheless, the focus on the Holy City is here reinforced less in the text, which is quite shortened, than through the miniature that accompanies it, which is well known for its archetypal 'round map' of Jerusalem. Here it is not the picture that illustrates the text, but the other way around, since the illumination was made a century earlier, right after the defeat of 1187. The image insists on the necessity to recover the Holy City, as it depicts, particularly clearly, the places where Christ suffered and where St Stephen suffered too. Indeed, it goes as far as to actually represent Stephen's stoning, a reminder of the violence perpetrated not only against Christ but against the first Christians too. There is an implied call to avenge them by fighting back against their enemies, as St George and St Demetrius seem to exemplify in the lower part of the miniature. The image of the two saints possibly refers back to the siege of Antioch, during the First Crusade, when both were said to have led a celestial army that guided the Christians to victory. The illuminator here clearly hopes for a similar success and asks for the saints' assistance, as well as calling for a crusade and the liberation of the Holy City.

Since Huon's poem was transcribed long after the miniature, it seems to have been chosen precisely because of its correspondence with the picture it complements. It implies that what caught the interest in the 'Complainte' was its exaltation of crusading, despite the

failure of the Fifth Crusade, at a time when hope was desperately needed.

In the end, the originality of Huon's discourse does not lie in his attacks against the Church, but in the way that he links them to the Fifth Crusade itself. His novel denunciation of vow redemptions and their consequences, and the blame he puts solely on Rome and its legate, frees the lay warriors from any responsibility in the Fifth Crusade's defeat. The knights' merit was kept undamaged, allowing Huon to exhort them to take the cross again. This may be what caught the attention of Huon's copyists and explains why the texts were passed on right up until the final loss of Acre and the end of the 'Crusader States' in the East. Huon's works perpetuate the idea that the crusaders themselves were not responsible for the failure of the Fifth Crusade.

And since the warriors' standing remained intact, for Huon, their success was still possible. Whilst telling the story of a defeat, he allowed his readers to believe in the possibility of a future victory.

Notes

1The authors would like to dedicate this chapter to Professor Catherine Vincent.

2See Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940).

3Huon of Saint-Quentin, 'Jérusalem se plaint et li païs', in *Les chansons de croisade*, ed. Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry (Paris, 1909), pp. 145–51; 'Complainte de Jérusalem contre Rome', in *Huon de Saint-Quentin, poète satirique et lyrique: étude historique et édition de textes*, ed. Arié Serper (Madrid, 1983), pp. 87–114.

4See Jaye Puckett, 'Troubadours and the Crusades', *Modern Language Notes*, 116 (2001), pp. 844–89.

5These points aimed to criticize crusaders' immorality and they started doing this as early as the Second Crusade: see *Ysengrimus*, ed. Jill Mann (Leiden, 1987) or Macabru's poems. Similar criticism can also be found during the Third Crusade, including in the works of Conon of Béthune, despite the fact that he was a crusader. For example, Conon commented that 'plus en croisa convoitiez que creance' ('Greed, more than faith, made them take the cross': *Les chansons de croisade*, p. 45, line 21).

6Huon implies a commitment, made by the Muslims to Pelagius ('Complainte', lines 248–49). This probably refers to al-Kamil's proposal to return Jerusalem to the crusaders in exchange for their evacuation of Egypt, made as early as February 1219.

7'Poracié a par son engan / Que Damiete est au soudan; / Ço a fait c'onques ne fist nus' (ibid., lines 88–90).

8That is, Al-Mu'azzam, ruler of Damascus and brother of al-Kamil, with whom he is confused here.

9‘Complainte’, lines 265–70.

10Ibid., lines 220–22.

11Ibid., lines 193–98.

12Ibid., lines 157–68.

13As is the case in the works of Tomier and Palaizi, and Guilhem Figueira (see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 37–45), Moniot (‘Bien mostre Dieus apertement’, in *Chansons satiriques et bachiques du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy and Arthur Långfors, (Paris, 1921), pp. 10–11) and Guillaume Le Clerc of Normandy (*Le Besant de Dieu*, ed. Pierre Ruelle (Brussels, 1973), p. 133). If Huon evokes the Albigensian Crusade, it is only as an unconnected event and not as an actual sign of a diversion of crusading, as it is presented by others (*Complainte*, v. 82–84).

14‘Complainte’, lines 181–83.

15See Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 155–59, and Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy, 1244–1291* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 99–106.

16Little is known of the extent of vow redemptions before the second part of the thirteenth century, when their misuse is more clearly attested; see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 82–93.

17Examples include authors such as Ricaut Bonomel, around 1265 (‘Ir e dolors s’es e mon cors asseza’, in *Poesie provenzali*, ed. Vicenzo de Bartholomaeis (2 vols, Rome, 1931), vol. 2, pp. 222–24), Rutebeuf, a few years later (‘Desputizons dou croisie et dou descroisie’, in Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Michel Zink (Paris, 1989), p. 450), and Raimon Gaucelm of Béziers, in 1270 (‘Ab grans trebalhs et ab grans marrimens’, in Gabriel Azais, ‘Les troubadours de Béziers’, *Bulletin de la société archéologique de Béziers*, 1 (1858), pp. 187–290).

18‘Complainte’, lines 49–53. The same idea of a diversion of the crusade for money is evoked in Huon’s song as well, where clerics are accused of ‘having stolen from Acre and Bethlehem / What everyone has promised to God’ (‘Retolu ont et Achre et Belleent / Ce que cascuns avoit a Diu pramis’ (‘Jérusalem se plaint’, lines 21–22).

19It is used as well in ibid., line 8.

20As is implied by authors like Caesarius of Heisterbach (see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 90–91) and by Huon himself (‘Complainte’, lines 181–83).

21The prefix *des-* implies an opposition to or a negation of *croiser* (‘taking the cross’), not just a disassociation.

22It is the case already, in the same decade, in the works of Moniot and those of Guillaume Le Clerc of Normandy; for later poets, see Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 55–62.

23Huon insists on this point. Whilst describing the ‘treason’ of the Church, he adds that ‘n’ont ce fait ne roi ne conte / Ne nule gent se vos clerc non’ (‘neither the king, nor any count / Nor anybody but you, clerks did [partake in it]’: ‘Complainte’, lines 29–30).

24Ibid., lines 37–42 and 85–87, where Pelagius is even said to have ‘rout le pan / De la cote le roi Jehan / Si que jamais n’iert recosus’ (‘torn up the shirt-tails / Of King John’s coat of mail / So that it could not ever be sewn up’).

25Even the Hospitallers seem too involved in religion to get a nod from Huon, who describes them, along with the Templars, as ‘Faus et felon et desloial’ (‘Deceitful, perfidious and unfaithful’), responsible for the troubles of the time (‘Complainte’, line 139).

26He addresses the ‘king of Paris’ directly to ask him to keep the evil actions of clerics in check (ibid., lines 253–64).

27Ibid., line 12; ‘Jérusalem se plaint’, line 33.

28‘Vengier/ Ceuls ki pour Dieu sont dela en prison / Et pour oster lor ames de dangier’ (ibid., lines 35–36).

29‘Complainte’, line 208.

30Liberating Jerusalem is described as ‘helping Our Lord’ (‘Jérusalem se plaint’, line 27): God’s cause merges with that of His city.

31Three manuscripts have kept ‘Jérusalem se plaint et li pais’: BnF, MS Français 844, fol. 81, and MS Français 12615, fol. 42; Burgerbibliothek, Bern, MS 389, fol. 96. Four contain the ‘Complainte de Jérusalem’: Burgerbibliothek, Bern, MS 113, fols 198v–99r; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Digby MS 86, fols 103v–05r; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MS 76F5, fols 44v–45r and 1r; and BnF, MS Français 12471, fols 106r–10v.

32*Huon de Saint-Quentin*, ed. Serper, p. 88.

33‘Complainte’, lines 70–72.

34Ibid., line 112.

35‘Pour deniers cascuns al leu les vent’ (‘Jérusalem se plaint’, line 13).

36Along with lighter *lais* and *fabliaux*, Wace’s *Life of Saint Nicholas*, Raoul de Houdenc’s *Songe d’Enfer* and, above all, Guichard de Beaulieu’s *Sermon* can be found here. All of these texts encourage repentance and contrition. It is worth adding a few comments about MS Français 12471, copied in Arras at the end of the thirteenth century. Whilst its version of the ‘Complainte’ is not similarly ‘moral’, this volume also includes a group of short edifying pieces, songs and hagiographical texts.

37The ‘Complainte’ survives, in its various manuscripts, alongside a number of other texts, mainly narratives and theoretical writings. By contrast, ‘Jérusalem se plaint’ is only found in *chansonniers*, for court usage.

38BnF, MS Français 844. There are similar points to make about the development of MS 389 in the Burgerbibliothek, Bern, which was copied in Lorraine during the 1290s. Almost half of its poems are taken from the *Chansonnier de Saint-Germain*. This work expressed the ideology of the aristocracy of Metz before the war of 1231–34, which set the bishop of Metz and his knights against the town’s people. The commissioning of the Bern MS is a sign of the persistent feeling amongst these aristocrats that they still pertained towards knighthood by maintaining a chivalric spirit.

39As is the case in the *Chansonnier du Roy*, which omits lines 8–17. These denounce the poor-quality care that the clerics took of crusaders and also the risks incurred by those who would follow the clergy.

13 The events of the Fifth Crusade according to the Cypriot chronicle of 'Amadi'

Nicholas Coureas

The anonymous Cypriot chronicle known as 'Amadi', named after its last Venetian owner, the sixteenth-century nobleman Francesco Amadi, is the only chronicle from Cyprus that recounts the events of the Fifth Crusade in some detail. On the basis of internal evidence, it was probably written in the early sixteenth century and its anonymous writer essentially compiled his account from earlier French sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[1] To a large extent, he simply translated those sources, stringing them together, and so his account has been criticized from a literary point of view as being stylistically disjointed and unpolished. From an historical point of view, however, this disjointedness is helpful in enabling historians to trace the original sources used by the person translating them to form his compilation.[2] In addition, one observes that the anonymous chronicler, despite following his sources closely, on occasion omits something, summarizes certain parts of the original or even garbles the meaning completely. This in turn raises other questions as to whether he was doing so on his own initiative, following a variant but now lost version of the original source, or even using a source now completely lost.

In narrating the events of the Fifth Crusade, the main source used by 'Amadi' is the B manuscript of the Colbert-Fontainebleau version of *Eracles* used as the main manuscript by the editors of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*. He closely follows this version of *Eracles* from the point where Pope Innocent III proclaimed the crusade, to commence from the time when the treaties between the Latins in Syria and the Muslims would expire, until the point where the Christians were able to capture the town of Damietta which they had been besieging. Nonetheless, important divergences occur. Chapters 13 and 14 of the thirty-second book of *Eracles*, recounting the Muslims' attempt to send troops into Damietta after it had been under siege for

one year and seven months, preface the incident by recounting how an epidemic striking the mouth and the legs struck the Latin besiegers, causing many deaths. The account also states that famine and sickness plagued the besieged, causing much suffering. It describes in some detail how the besieged sent persons across the river and through the Christian lines to alert the sultan to their plight, and then recounts the stratagems the sultan devised in order to send food into the city. One was sending persons at night with food parcels wrapped in leather or cloth down the river into the city, but the Latins spotted them, had fires lit from one end of the river to the other and sent up alarm bells and barges, and on the sound of the alarms they went there, killing or capturing those carrying the parcels. Another stratagem, that of stuffing dead camels or horses with foodstuffs and letting them into the river along with other carrion so that the besieged could fish them out with hooked poles, was likewise foiled by the Latins.[3] 'Amadi' omits mention of the plague and simply states that the stratagems to smuggle food into the city were thwarted, while the anonymous chronicle known as that of Ernoul or Bernard the Treasurer simply states that the besieged were struck by sickness, causing many deaths, and so they informed the sultan that if he did not send men to defend the city, they would surrender. Another version of *Eracles* that is similar to the chronicle of Ernoul, called Manuscript C by the editors of the *Recueil* and printed in small print below Colbert-Fontainebleau, gives a similar account.[4] This version will henceforth be referred to as the *abrégé*.

The sultan's attempt to send soldiers into Damietta, following the failed attempts to send in supplies, is narrated in a virtually identical fashion in *Eracles* and 'Amadi', but differently in *Ernoul* and the *abrégé*. The first two chronicles recount that the sultan sent 300 picked infantrymen to infiltrate Damietta, each with a bag containing biscuits and other edibles around his neck, but the Latins apprehended or killed all those who managed to enter the city, apart from 53. However, *Ernoul* and the *abrégé* state that the troops sent were 500 knights and that they were able to pass through the Latin lines early in the evening while the besiegers were asleep. They entered the city at the point where the count of Nevers had his encampment, the Muslim sentries in Damietta opened the gates there to allow them entry, and the count of Nevers, greatly shamed by this, was banished from the Latin army.[5] Both *Eracles* and 'Amadi' recount the final capture of Damietta in the same manner, stating that the able-bodied men in the city were so few that they could hardly perform sentry duty, that the

trebuchet of the Hospital was aligned towards an arch in the great corner tower of the walls that was large enough for a man to enter, and that those in the city, enfeebled by famine, were unable to return the trebuchet's fire. Under these circumstances, Latin infantry with scaling ladders were able to enter the city and send word that the tower was unmanned, following which King John of Jerusalem and his men seized the tower, raised the royal standard at daybreak and thus signalled to the remaining Latin troops to rush in and capture the city. *Ernoul* and the *abrégé* recount that the household troops of Cardinal Pelagius were the ones who scaled the walls on noticing that they were unmanned, made this known to the army, opened the gates and entered without resistance amidst stricken, sick and dead men, while those Muslims able to resist retreated into the tower, where they were captured.[6]

On occasion 'Amadi' gives an apparently garbled version of events found neither in the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* nor in *Ernoul* and the *abrégé*. Chapter 6 in the Colbert-Fontainebleau version of *Eracles*, which recounts how the Latins seized the Muslim camp outside Damietta, states that this was a consequence of Sultan al-Kamil's order to two trusted emirs that they and their men should enter the city and reinforce the besiegers. The emirs replied that they would only do so if the sultan's own son accompanied them, for otherwise he might show the same indifference to their fate as his uncle Saladin had apparently shown to their fathers in Acre, when he had allowed them to be captured there. Furious with this response, the sultan left them and summoned all of his emirs. The two recalcitrant emirs, thinking that the sultan would have them seized and executed, resolved that 'we prefer to die defending ourselves than that the sultan should seize us and make a dishonourable end to us', as the narration states. When they armed their men, the sultan, not trusting them, did likewise, and so the emirs and their followers fled from the camp, thinking that the others were preparing to seize them. However, the remaining Muslims troops also fled upon seeing this, and the sultan, fearing that the Christians would advance, followed suit. King John of Jerusalem, unaware of this, sent a certain Aubert the carpenter to go and spy on the Muslim camp to ascertain their intentions and, when he returned to report to the king that there was no one to be seen or heard, the king, in disbelief, sent a knight named Michael de Viz, who on returning reported the same thing. The Christians then crossed the river in boats and were able to occupy the abandoned Muslim camp and claim the booty there, although King John, fearing a Muslim plan

to attack the Latins once they had dispersed themselves throughout the abandoned camp, had it barred shut until his men had crossed back to their own camp.[7]

'Amadi' in general follows this account from the point after the Muslim flight, but notes that it was the Latins who armed themselves earlier, stating that they would rather die defending themselves than be captured by the sultan and killed shamefully, in effect putting the emirs' words into Latins mouths. According to 'Amadi', the Muslims likewise armed themselves, whereupon the emirs, baffled by this and thinking that they had taken up arms to seize them, mounted their horses and fled with their men, thereby causing a general flight. It is possible that the anonymous compiler of the chronicle had misunderstood the passage in *Eracles* at this point, but it is also possible that he was using a lost version containing this version of events.[8] By way of contrast, *Ernoul* and the *abrégé* mention only one emir as opposed to two quarrelling with the sultan, although for the same reason as given above. These accounts state that at night the emir abandoned the camp with his men, but that they left their equipment and tents behind, so as to conceal their departure. Nonetheless, the other Muslims assigned to watch the Christian camp also fled on hearing them go, and at daybreak the Latin sentries, observing that the Muslim camp on the opposite bank of the river was empty, made this known to the rest of the army, who all crossed the river on boats, including the knights, and seized the camp. However, the sailors were left onboard their vessels and, keeping in formation, they advanced to the area opposite Damietta soon afterwards.[9]

The events taking place on and immediately after the feast of St John are also treated differently in *Eracles*, 'Amadi', *Ernoul* and the *abrégé*. 'Amadi' omits important events recounted in the other chronicles. *Ernoul* and the *abrégé* recount how al-Mu'azzam, the ruler of Damascus, gathered a large force on this feast day, which was on 31 August 1218, ambushed the Latins near Acre and then feigned flight. The Latins in Acre exited impetuously from the city to pursue the Muslims, charged into the ambush, suffered heavy losses in battle and fled right up to the gates of Acre, with many killed or captured by the pursuing Muslims in the rout. The Latins in Acre armed themselves on seeing their co-religionists' reverse, but the Muslims left Acre and proceeded to besiege Caesarea. The inhabitants there sought refuge in Acre, making their way there by boat after being told that it was impossible to send them any help. The Muslims, discovering during their assault on Caesarea that no one was there to resist them,

scaled the walls with ladders, captured the place and destroyed it. They then went on to besiege Château Pèlerin, but on receiving the news that they were urgently required to assist their co-religionists in Egypt, they raised the siege and made their way there.[10]

The Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* gives a version of these events that differs in the details, although the broad outline is similar. It states that while the Christians in Acre were celebrating the news that the tower opposite Damietta had been taken, the alarm was sounded of a Muslim raid. Knights and mounted archers numbering 120 men pursued the raiders and, in the course of their pursuit, they came across large Muslim forces making their way to the springs of Cresson, where the Muslim commander was encamped, engaged in destroying the fortifications of Mount Tabor. On seeing them, the Latins formed into a group and charged against the Muslims, who allegedly numbered 10,000, but as they lacked archers and slingers, the Muslims soon fell on them, killing their horses and around 80 knights, mounted archers and squires, an event that occurred on the feast of St John. Those escaping through the mountains around Mount Carmel made their way to Acre by night. Al-Mu'azzam and his forces then laid siege to Caesarea, battering its walls day and night with three siege engines. The small and badly provisioned castle was soon damaged. When the king's lieutenant, Garnier the German, summoned the people of Acre to ask them to provide help, the Genoese volunteered to do so because they had good relations with Walter, lord of Caesarea. However, despite the aid they sent, it was impossible to hold the city, and so the inhabitants asked the people of Acre to give them refuge, making their way there by boats sent from Acre for this purpose. The Muslims entered the citadel of Caesarea, found no one there and subsequently destroyed it.[11]

Neither of these two versions of the events in Acre and Caesarea is found in 'Amadi', which simply narrates what happened on the feast of St John exactly one year later, in Egypt in 1219, as opposed to Syria and Palestine. It closely follows the narration of the events in Egypt given in the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, although omitting some details. Following the rejection of the Muslim peace offers, the crusaders persuaded King John of Jerusalem and the nobles to attack. The attack failed because the Muslims, aware of the scheme, vacated their camp, allowed the Latins to enter it, crossed the river once the Latins had encamped there and counter-attacked in the evening when the Latin infantry, anxious to return to their own camp, left hurriedly and without keeping their troops in formation. On seeing this attack,

the king and the cavalry rushed to join the infantry so that the Muslims could not drive a wedge between them, and the Muslims pursued the Latins right back to their own camp, killing and capturing many, so that 300 knights and 4,000 other troops were lost. *Eracles* mentions the bishop of Beauvais Miles of Nantueil, his kinsman Andrew, Walter the chamberlain, his son Adam, John of Arcis, Andrew of Espoisses, Philip of Plancy and Miles of Saint-Florentin among those captured, something that 'Amadi' omits. 'Amadi' also mentions Ralph of Tiberias as the constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, whereas *Eracles* describes him as the seneschal. Ernoul and the *abrégé* narrate this event in a similar fashion, but with less detail. Ralph of Tiberias is not mentioned and only Walter the chamberlain and the bishop of Beauvais, described as an *electus* who later became bishop, are mentioned by name among the captured. This account also states that none of the infantry escaped. Those not killed died of thirst because it was extremely hot that day.[12]

The dependence of 'Amadi' on the Colbert-Fontainebleau versions of *Eracles*, as opposed to *Ernoul*, the *abrégé* and other sources, means that various Cypriot events are omitted from this Italian chronicle, despite its Cypriot provenance. 'Amadi' and *Eracles* both mention the arrival of 100 Cypriot knights in Damietta under the command of Walter of Caesarea, the constable of Cyprus, immediately after the rejection of the Muslim peace offer. However, 'Amadi' omits the information that when al-Mu'azzam left Syria to come to Egypt, he destroyed the walls around Jerusalem and the two castles of Toron and Safed, mindful of the possibility that, in the event of a peace agreement, these places might be returned to the Latins.[13] 'Amadi' also omits information found in the chronicle of Oliver of Paderborn, but not in any of the other chronicles mentioned above. Oliver states that Eustorgius, the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia, was part of the Cypriot force that crossed to Acre in September 1217 and that he was also present at the siege of Damietta. Moreover, the Cypriot cavalry on the right wing of the Latin forces outside Damietta 'Sarracenis … timiditatem suum ostenderunt'.[14] Whether these omissions were deliberate, or took place through ignorance, is not known.

Another omission in 'Amadi', possibly deliberate, is that King John of Jerusalem is not mentioned amongst the kings, nobles and prelates who assembled in the tent of King Andrew of Hungary to discuss strategy, following the arrival of the crusader forces at Acre. King John of Jerusalem and King Hugh I of Cyprus had had hostile relations since 1213, when Pope Innocent III wrote to King Hugh

accusing him of assisting persons who had rebelled against King John and of mistreating a group of King John's vassals who had sought refuge in Cyprus to escape from Muslim ships. Although the pope's subsequent correspondence to King Hugh on effecting a reconciliation with King John was successful enough to induce King Hugh to bring a Cypriot force to Latin Syria in the opening stages of the Fifth Crusade, disputes arose subsequently between King John of Jerusalem on the one hand and King Hugh of Cyprus and King Andrew of Hungary on the other. King Andrew decided to return to Europe in late 1217 and King Hugh accompanied him as far as Tripoli, where Hugh died early in 1218. One observes here that the transport of King Hugh's body from Tripoli to Cyprus, his burial there in the church of the Hospitallers and the fact that he left behind two daughters and a nine-month-old son, recounted in 'Amadi', are mentioned neither in *Eracles* nor in *Ernoul* and the *abrégé*.[15]

A more surprising omission from 'Amadi', considering the Cypriot provenance of the chronicle, is the account of the Muslim raid on Limassol that took place in the summer of 1221. This account, likewise not mentioned in the Colbert-Fontainebleau version of *Eracles*, is mentioned in *Ernoul*, the *abrégé* and the account of Oliver of Paderborn. It recounts how the Muslims, knowing that the Latin Christians were not guarding the sea lanes between Damietta and Cyprus, armed ten galleys, or 20 according to some accounts, with the aim of harassing Latin seaborne traffic between Cyprus, Acre and Damietta. Latin spies who had learnt of these plans alerted Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate and Bishop of Albano, telling him to send ships to intercept the Muslim galleys, but he disregarded their warnings, simply providing them with food and wine. Once the Muslim galleys had taken to the sea, the spies alerted the cardinal once again, but he dismissed them, saying that they only brought news whenever they wanted food and drink, telling them to go away and have more food and wine. As a result, the Muslim galleys sailed to the Cypriot port of Limassol, where they found ships loaded with pilgrims. Setting fire to these ships, they burnt some and took others away with them back to Damietta and Acre. The cardinal was deeply aggrieved upon hearing what had happened, knowing himself to be culpable, and he had armed galleys sent to Cyprus, but it was too late. According to the reports submitted to Cardinal Pelagius, over 13,000 Christians were killed or captured in this Muslim raid, quite apart from the booty that they had captured. In connection with Cardinal Pelagius, it is also worth noting that 'Amadi' and the Colbert-

Fontainebleau *Eracles* omit any mention of his fellow legate who accompanied him to Damietta, the English-born Cardinal Robert, who died soon after his arrival. *Ernoul*and the *abrégé* mention Cardinal Robert. They also observe that Pelagius inflicted considerable damage on the crusade, largely through his obstinacy in rejecting the Muslim peace offers, as well as through his negligence, as mentioned above.[16]

The chronicle of 'Amadi', which for the most part follows the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, nonetheless diverges from it in its narration of events following the actual capture of Damietta. Instead of following either the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, *Ernoul* or the *abrégé*, it simply states that the Christians lost Damietta because, soon after King John rode out of the city, the Muslims hemmed him in his encampment with water diverted from the river. Seeing himself surrounded, the king surrendered Damietta and returned with his host to Acre. This extremely short version of events is followed by an account of how the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius, journeyed back to Rome, accompanied by King John. There, they and the pope discussed the subject of the marriage of John's daughter to the German Emperor Frederick II. All of this is taken from the 'Annales de Terre Sainte', which forms the first part of the tripartite chronicle known as *Les gestes des Chiprois*. (The next two parts are the chronicle of Philip of Novara and that of the so-called 'Templar of Tyre'.) The anonymous compiler of 'Amadi' seemingly decided to cease following the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, or a similar account, when concluding his narration of the events of the Fifth Crusade.[17]

It remains to examine why 'Amadi' follows the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* and then decides to change over to the 'Annales de Terre Sainte'. The fact that 'Amadi' never uses Ernoul, the *abrégé* or the chronicle of Oliver of Paderborn in narrating the events of the Fifth Crusade is possibly because the anonymous compiler had no access to these accounts when translating French source materials into Italian. Nonetheless, an ulterior motive can be suggested. It is worth noting that, despite having access to the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* or to a virtually identical source, our author omits this source's more detailed accounts of events from the Christians' capture of Damietta to their evacuation of it in September 1221. The accounts in all the above chronicles, despite differences in detail, agree in placing the blame squarely on the obstinacy of Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate, and they place King John of Jerusalem in a favourable light. According to this interpretation of events, John's opportunities to conclude a favourable peace with the Muslims were stymied by the

opposition he faced from the legate and from those supporting him, which included the military orders. The Norman cleric Guillaume le Clerc, in his satire *Le Besant de Dieu* (written in around 1227), likewise blamed the legate, whilst Provençal poets, in particular Guilhem Figueira, wrote fiery diatribes against the Western clergy, holding them responsible for the failure of the Fifth Crusade. For its part, the chronicle of 'Amadi' acknowledges that the dissensions amongst the Latin Christians led to the destruction of their army, with some supporting King John and others Cardinal Pelagius. Yet nowhere does it blame the cardinal explicitly.[18] This engenders the suspicion that either the anonymous compiler and translator of 'Amadi', or some of the vanished sources that he was following, had a pro-clerical bias. Since neither the creator of the chronicle nor the sources he had at his disposal are presently known, this supposition is not susceptible to rigorous proof. Nevertheless, it would explain the omissions present in his account, *faute de mieux*.

Notes

1 'Chronique d'Amadi', in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (2 vols, Paris, 1891–93), vol. 1, pp. i–ii, observes that the manuscript's last owner died in 1566 and that the sole extant manuscript dates from the late sixteenth century. Nonetheless, the references to the Venetian coin known as a *marcello* and to Rhodes as still being in the Hospitallers' possession (vol. 1, pp. 106–07 and 259) indicate an early sixteenth-century date, around 1520.

2 Peter W. Edbury, 'Famagusta and the Tradition of History Writing in Frankish Cyprus', in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, ed. Michael J. K. Walsh, Peter W. Edbury and Nicholas S. H. Coureas (Farnham, 2012), p. 43.

3 'L'estoire de Eracles empereur', *RHC Occ.*, vol. 2, pp. 344–45.

4 *Ernoul*, pp. 424–25; 'Amadi', p. 114; 'L'estoire de Eracles', MS C, p. 339.

5 'L'estoire de Eracles', p. 345; 'Amadi', p. 114; *Ernoul*, p. 425; 'L'estoire de Eracles', MS C, pp. 339–40.

6 'L'estoire de Eracles', pp. 345–46; 'Amadi', pp. 114–15; *Ernoul*, pp. 425–26; 'L'estoire de Eracles', MS C, pp. 340–42.

7 'L'estoire de Eracles', pp. 335–36: 'nos amons meaus que l'on nos ocie en defendant, que ce que li sotans nos preigne et nos face mourir a honte'.

8 'Amadi', pp. 109–10.

9 *Ernoul*, pp. 419–20; 'L'estoire de Eracles', MS C, pp. 326–28.

10 *Ernoul*, pp. 422–23; 'L'estoire de Eracles', MS C, pp. 333–36.

11 'L'estoire de Eracles', pp. 330–31 and 334.

12 Ibid., pp. 340–41; 'Amadi', pp. 112–13; *Ernoul*, pp. 423–24; 'L'estoire de Eracles', MS C, pp. 336–39.

13 'L'estoire de Eracles', pp. 339–40; 'Amadi', p. 112.

14 G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (4 vols, Cambridge, 1940–1952), vol. 2, p. 86 and notes

3 and 6: ‘they showed their fear … to the Saracens’.

15‘L’estoire de Eracles’, p. 323; ‘Amadi’, pp. 102–04; Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991, reprinted 1994), pp. 46–48.

16*Ernoul*, pp. 417 and 429–30; ‘L’estoire de Eracles’, p. 331; ‘Amadi’, p. 108; Hill, *History*, vol. 2, p. 87; ‘L’estoire de Eracles’, MS C, pp. 320–21 and 345–46.

17‘Amadi’, p. 115; ‘Chronique de Terre Sainte, 1132–1224’, in *Les Gestes des Chiprois: recueil des chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Paris, 1887, reprinted Osnabrück, 1968), p. 20 (sections 79–80).

18H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford, 1990), p. 227; ‘Amadi’, p. 114.

Part V

The Fifth Crusade in Europe

14The Teutonic Order during the Fifth Crusade and their rise in Western Europe

The French case study (1218–58)

Karol Polejowski

Among historians studying the history of the Teutonic Order, a conviction was established that the participation and the attitude of the Teutonic Knights during the siege of Damietta in Egypt during the Fifth Crusade, especially in 1218 and 1219, marked the beginning of rapid growth in the popularity of the Order, and equally in the growth of its possessions in some regions of Western Europe, mainly in the Rhineland, the Netherlands and France. Consequently, this resulted in a formation of the Order's bailiwicks of Biesen and Utrecht, and an attempt to establish one in France as well. The events in Egypt are also connected to the origins of a few of the Order's commanderies in the Rhineland. During the siege of Damietta, the Teutonic Knights were known for their bravery in combat and charitable activity, and therefore the Order was the recipient of several donations.[1]

The donations to the Order, which were made by French knights during the crusade in Egypt, are particularly interesting because the relatives and descendants of these knights in France continued the friendly policy towards the Teutonic Knights during the next 20–30 years.[2] After the events in Egypt, the Order was especially popular among the nobility and clergy of southern Champagne and northern Burgundy. The dynamics of growth of the possessions of the Teutonic Knights in these regions allow us to suppose that the Order was planning to create a separate bailiwick in the kingdom of France. Finally, those plans were abandoned in the late 1250s and early 1260s. It is worth emphasizing that the Teutonic Knights attempted to settle in France, despite the fact that the Templars and Hospitallers had already established a very strong position there. In my view, such a policy of the Order's authorities indicates a desire to establish the Order as an international organization (like the Templars and

Hospitallers) that was not merely limited to the German-speaking countries, as happened later.[3]

We know that the Grand Master, Hermann von Salza, arrived in Egypt at the head of the Order's forces in late May 1218, together with the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, and the rest of the crusaders. Since the beginning of the war in the Nile Delta, the Teutonic Order's forces took part in the fighting and members of the Order managed a field hospital for the crusaders. This last information is clear from the document issued by the German knight Sweder von Dingden.[4] We know that in June 1218, the Order received the first donation from Count Adolf of Berg, who gave some lands and rights to the brotherhood in his village of Dieren.[5] What is interesting for us is that the sources are silent about the military activity of the Teutonic Knights during the first period of the siege of Damietta. In any case, the fighting at this point was fairly sluggish, something which did not change, despite the new reinforcements of crusaders – which included large groups of French knights – arriving from Europe between autumn 1218 and Easter 1219. This situation changed somewhat in February 1219, when the crusaders occupied the Muslim camp, al-Adiliyah, and Damietta was completely besieged. In the *Estoire de Eracles* we find precise information about the positions of the Frankish contingents besieging the city from February 1219. It follows that the Teutonic Knights remained in the former camp (this decision can be explained by the existence of the field hospital) and also maintained the positions on the west wing of the crusading army.[6]

A breakthrough in the course of events took place in July and August 1219. On about 30 July, the Teutonic Knights took part in a battle against the defenders of Damietta, which is recounted in the pages of the chronicles.[7] A month later (29 August), they took part in the disastrous attack of the crusading army on Muslim lines. It ended with a total defeat, and the military orders suffered serious losses, both in terms of those killed and captured.[8] A large group of French knights was also taken into captivity, as reflected in the letters written from Egypt by the Bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry.[9] The attitude of the Teutonic Knights in the battles must have had a great impression on the crusaders, because in July, August and September 1219, there was a whole series of donations to the Order. The largest group of donors were the knights from France, especially from Champagne and Burgundy, and to a lesser extent from the western territories of the kingdom of Germany. One must make mention here of the Flemish knight, Egidius Berthout, who, when making his donations to the

Order in September 1219, described not only the bravery of the knights in battle, but also their merits in the field of care for the poor crusaders. This opinion is consistent with the document issued by Sweder von Dingden in 1218, which included words about the extraordinary bravery of the brothers and their devotion to the Hospitaller duties.[10]

However, the most conspicuous example of the reaction to the attitude of the Teutonic Knights in this summer were donations made by the group of French knights between July and September 1219. In this group we find the feudal lords from southern Champagne and northern Burgundy, who arrived in Egypt around Easter 1219. But before they appeared in Egypt, they took an active part in the civil war in Champagne, fighting on the side of rebellious Erard de Ramerupt (de Brienne) or on the side of Thibaut IV, the Count of Champagne, and his mother Blanche of Navarre. A truce in this war was concluded in the autumn of 1218 and an obligation to participate in the crusade was imposed by some members of the nobility from Champagne and Burgundy.[11]

We know of six donations by the French lords to the Teutonic Knights which took place in Egypt.[12] If we accept that the battle of 29 August 1219 is the turning point for our considerations, the French donations can be divided into two groups: those made before and after this date. In the first group we find Milo, Count of Bar/Seine and Le Puiset, and his son Walter,[13] Geoffrey de Buxeuil,[14] Milo's direct vassal, and Erard II de Chacenay.[15] The families of Bar/Seine and Chacenay were closely related. Milo and his family (the younger line of the Brienne family), like Chacenay (also related to the Briennes), belonged to the upper feudal class of the county of Champagne and played an important political role there. Both families had a rich crusading tradition. Milo participated in the Albigensian Crusade and visited the Holy Land twice (1199/1200 and 1211/12). Erard II de Chacenay's father, also Erard, died in 1191 during the Third Crusade, like the father and uncle of the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne.[16]

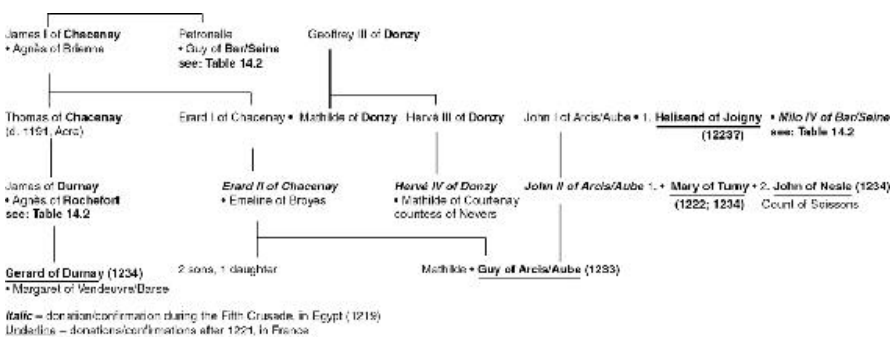

Table 14.1 Reconstruction of the genealogical relationships between families: Chacenay, Arcis/Aube, Joigny, Donzy and Soissons (simplified)

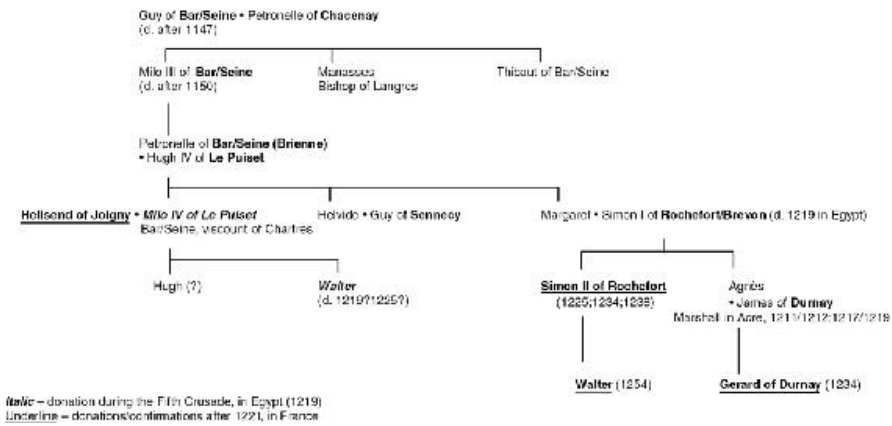

Table 14.2 Reconstruction of the genealogical relationships between families: Bar/Seine, Le Puiset, Rochefort/Brevon and Durnay (simplified)

In the second group of French knights we find benefactors, who through the events of 29 August found themselves in Muslim captivity and shared its hardships with, among others, the brothers of the Teutonic Order: Jean II d'Arcis-sur-Aube, André de Montbard, Lord of Epoisses, and Eudes de Châtillon-en-Bazois.[17] The first of them was a member of the upper feudal class of the county of Champagne and was repeatedly honoured as a brave and righteous knight by the chroniclers and other participants of the crusade (such as Jacques de Vitry or Oliver of Paderborn, for example). Probably he did not survive in captivity because in one document from 1222, his wife referred to him as deceased.[18] André de Montbard and Eudes de Châtillon-en-Bazois came from northern Burgundy, where they were vassals of the Count of Nevers, Hervé de Donzy.[19] The count of Nevers, who had been in Egypt since spring 1219, had a particularly bad reputation as an adventurer.[20] We also know that Eudes de Châtillon did not return to France.

In the surviving documents of the French benefactors, we can find reasons why they decided to make grants to the Order. The grants were made mostly out of religious devotion. The French knights wanted to ensure the peace of the souls of their ancestors or to secure their own salvation. In five of the six cases, we are dealing with financial donations of perpetual alms, which were to be taken from specific sources. Milo de Bar/Seine, who died in Egypt, and his son Walter decided to give to the Teutonic Order certain lands in the county of Le Puiset (south of Chartres). It is certain that all these donations were closely related to the events of July and August 1219, because in the later stage of the war in Egypt (1220–21), there were no other French donations to the Teutonic Order.

The French donations made in 1219 in Egypt were put in force in France, and at the beginning of the 1220s, the Teutonic Knights came to Champagne, Burgundy and Beauce. However, in a few cases the donations were hard to enforce, especially if the benefactor did not survive the crusade and his landsand titles were divided between his heirs. The regulation of these matters had taken about 20 years, so until 1238, but in this year the Order was already well established in southern Champagne, where the commandery of Beauvoir existed (founded by Walter IV de Brienne in 1231),[21] in northern Burgundy, where in 1224 a house of the Order already existed in the village Orbec (near Nevers)[22] and in Beauce, where in 1225 the knights took over some lands and other properties in Neuvy-en-Beauce and Saint Michel de l'Hermitage.[23]

To illustrate the problems that the brothers of the Order faced in enforcing the donations made during the Fifth Crusade, we could present the case of Jean II d'Arcis-sur-Aube. Jean was a vassal of the count of Champagne and, since 1215, he had been one of the most important supporters of the minor Thibaut IV, Count of Champagne, against the claims to the county of Erard II de Ramerupt, despite the fact that Jean and Erard were closely related. In 1218 the Countess of Champagne, Blanche of Navarre, gave Jean 35 *livres* a year from the fairs in Troyes. It was probably a reward for his faithful service during the civil war against Erard. In 1219 he went on crusade with the other members of the Champagne noble families and arrived in Egypt at Easter. We also know that before embarking on crusade, Jean had to borrow 200 *livres* from the Briennes to finance his overseas expedition.[24] As a result of the battle of 29 August 1219, he was captured and probably died in prison. We do not know how it happened, because in a letter of 18 April 1221, Jacques de Vitry

mentioned that Jean d'Arcis was still held in Muslim captivity.[25]

During the crusade, Jean made a donation to the Teutonic Order of 20 *livres* as perpetual alms, taken from fees of the fairs in Troyes (the original document does not survive). After Jean's death, his lordship and other titles were divided between his wife, Marie de Turny, and his son, Gui d'Arcis, including the income from the fairs in Troyes. We know that Jean had received 35 *livres* from this source each year. His wife, Marie, took half of these revenues (17 and a half *livres*) and the other half belonged to Guy d'Arcis. The Teutonic Knights had to take their 20 *livres*, but the acquisition of Guy's part was only 17 and a half *livres*, so in December 1222, Marie de Turny had to add the missing two and a half *livres* to make up the total of 20 *livres*.[26]

However, everything indicates that the last will of Jean II d'Arcis was not realized. After 15 years, in May 1234, Jean de Nesle, Count of Soissons, and his wife Maria de Turny (now remarried) issued a document to the Teutonic Order in which they gave the sum of 100 *livres* as part-payment of a debt amounting to 300 *livres*.[27] If we assume that from 1219 to 1234 the Teutonic Knights could not get their pension from Jean II d'Arcis because his son Gui did not pay it, then we arrive at a total of 300 *livres*. This is reinforced by the fact that in 1238, Gui d'Arcis owed to his stepfather, the count of Soissons, exactly 300 *livres*.[28]

To complete the picture, let us add that the wife of Gui d'Arcis was Mathilde de Chacenay, daughter of Erard II de Chacenay, benefactor of the Order during the expedition to Egypt. In 1233 Gui d'Arcis gave a servant family from one of his villages to the Teutonic Order.[29] It is worth noting that the described case illustrates a determination of the Order to realize the French donations made during the Fifth Crusade.

A similar situation is also found with the enforcement of the donation made by Milo de Bar-sur-Seine and his son Walter. After Milo's death in Egypt (Walter's fate is uncertain), the double county of Bar-sur-Seine and Le Puiset was divided so that the county of Bar was absorbed into the county of Champagne. The county of Le Puiset was taken over by Milo's nephew, Simon de Rochefort-sur-Brevon.[30] In 1219 Milo and Walter du Puiset gave certain lands near Bonneval to the Teutonic Order. In about 1223 Milo's widow, Helisend de Joigny, added certain lands in Saint-Maur.[31] After two years, in 1225, Simon de Rochefort, heir of Le Puiset, and Johan de Ressia (also referred to in documents as de Biause and de Beissa), the Teutonic Order's preceptor *in regno Francie*, concluded an agreement in which they exchanged the lands. Simon took over the lands in Bonneval and

Saint-Maur, and gave up the lands and titles in Neuvy-en-Beauce and the hermitage of Saint-Michel de l'Hermitage, founded by Milo de Bar/Seine during his crusade in the Holy Land in around 1200.[32]

The French donations made during the crusade in Egypt, and their further realization by the Order in France in the first half of the thirteenth century, are a fantastic example of familial policy pursued towards a new military order, managed by a few aristocratic families from Champagne, Burgundy and Beauce. This dynamic period of growth of the possessions of the Teutonic Knights, but also their diplomatic activity in France, brought such good results that the Order was planning to create a separate bailiwick there. This seems even more probable if we take into consideration that in 1225, the Teutonic Order's *preceptor in regno Francie* appeared. This high-ranking representative of the Order was also mentioned in the documents from 1234, 1255 and 1258. Yet after this period, the Order initiated a process of subordination of the French commanderies and houses in France to the authorities of the Lorraine bailiwick, with the central point in Trier.[33]

It is also certain that in the first period, all officials of the Order came to France from the western regions of the *Reich* or from the Mediterranean, since knowledge of the French language was necessary. We know that the *preceptor in regno Francie* in 1234, Johan de Biause, who appeared in a document of Jean, Count of Soissons, knew French. The same brother (as Johan de Beissa) served as a witness along with other brothers to a document written in French in 1239. In this document the Knights Hospitaller gave their *casale* Lannahie, located in the vicinity of Acre in the Holy Land, to the Teutonic Order.[34]

In my opinion, the Teutonic Knights resigned from the development of a separate bailiwick in France in the 1250s, and we can only guess what the reasons were. First of all, the installation of the Order in France did not generate sufficient and durable interaction with the local feudal society. Sympathy and support for the Teutonic Order from some families and local clergy in Champagne and Burgundy did not generate enough French recruits for this new military order. The French simply did not join the Teutonic Order, but continued to choose the Knights Templar and Hospitallers instead, which had been established in their homelands for generations. This does not mean that there were no French-speaking brothers in the Teutonic Order. There were, for example, French brothers in the commanderies of the bailiwick of Lorraine – Metz, Trier, Luxembourg and Saarbrücken –

but it was not enough.

Second, the Teutonic Knights did not repeat the success or resulting renown which they achieved on the Fifth Crusade. On the contrary, the entanglement of the Order in the policy of Emperor Frederick II not only in the Holy Land, but also in Western Europe, probably tarnished its image. In addition, the defeats that the Christians suffered in Palestine from the middle of the thirteenth century damaged the position and popularity of the military orders in Europe – surely not without impact for the perception of the Teutonic Knights as well. Another factor that played an important role in the policy of the Order in France is the fact that some families which made donations to the Order, and were its supporters and guardians in France in the first half of the thirteenth century, went extinct or became impoverished in the second half of the century as a result of warfare or following crusades (for example, Bar/Seine, Chacenay or Arcis/Aube). Only one aristocratic family from France, the counts of Brienne, consistently continued a policy of friendship toward the Teutonic Knights and was also able to afford it financially. However, this proved inadequate, and the Teutonic Order did not find a solution to this state of affairs. It is even more significant that the beginning – the donations made during the Fifth Crusade in Egypt by the French knights – had been so promising.

Notes

1On the Fifth Crusade and the beginning of the Teutonic Order's possessions in Rhineland, France and *partes inferiores* (the Netherlands), see, for example, M. Tumler, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400: Mit einem Abriß der Geschichte von 1400 bis zur neusten Zeit* (Vienna, 1955), p. 35; K. van Eickels, 'De overgang van der Vlaamse en Brabantse bezittingen van de Duitse Orde van de balije 'partes inferiores' naar de balije Koblenz', in *Miscellanea Baliviae de Juncis* (Bilzen, 1995), pp. 49–68; E. van Ermen, 'De vestiging van de Duitse Orde in Brabant', in *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels, ed.* W. Paravicini (Sigmaringen, 1989), vol. 1, p. 88; K. Polejowski, *Geneza i rozwój posiadłości zakonu krzyżackiego na terenie Królestwa Francji do połowy XIV wieku [Genesis and Development of Property of the Order of Teutonic Knights in the Kingdom of France to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century*] (Gdansk, 2003); T. Krämer, 'Der Deutsche Orden im heutigen Frankreich: Ein Beitrag zur Ordensgeschichte im Königreich Frankreich und im Midi', in *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studio Torre Alemanna (Cerignola)-Mesagne-Lecce, 16–18 ottobre 2003*, ed. H. Houben (Galatina, 2004); H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, 'L'Ordre Teutonique en France', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 32 (1871), pp. 63–83; H. de Flamare, 'La cinquième croisade et les chevaliers teutoniques en Nivernais', *Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des Lettres, Sciences et Arts*, 12 (1886), pp. 413–55.

2For the French participants of the Fifth Crusade, see J. Greven, 'Frankreich und der

fünften Kreuzzug', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 42 (1923), pp. 1–52; *Anatomy*.

3For the Templars and Hospitallers in southern Champagne in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see J. Richard, 'Les Templiers et les Hospitaliers en Champagne méridionale (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellman (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 231–42; M. T. Boutiot, 'Les Templiers et leurs établissement dans la Champagne méridionale', *Annuaire administrative de l'Aube*, 41 (1866), pp. 27–46.

4Hennes, vol. 1, no. 35; K. van Eickels, *Die Deutschordensballei Koblenz und ihre Wirtschaftliche entwicklung im Spätmittelalter*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 52 (Marburg, 1995), p. 25.

5Hennes, vol. 2, no. 7; van Eickels, *Koblenz*, p. 25.

6 *Eracles*, pp. 331, 337.

7Hoogeweg, p. 210.

8The battle of 29 August 1219 and the losses of the military orders have been described in many chronicles, for example: *Eracles*, pp. 340–41; *QB*, pp. 102, 185–90; Hoogeweg, pp. 216–17.

9*Lettres*, pp. 129–30; see also Hoogeweg, p. 216 and *Eracles*, p. 341 for the names of the French prisoners and dead.

10See nn. 4 and 5.

11On the civil war in the county of Champagne in the years 1215–21, see H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne* (Paris, 1865), vol. 4, pp. 107–87; M.A. Nielen, 'La succession de Champagne dans les chartes du Royaume de Chypre' in *La présence latine en Orient au Moyen-Âge*, ed. G. Brunel and M. A. Nielen (Paris, 2000), pp. 77–94; Guy Perry, '"*Scandalia … tam in oriente quam in occidente*": The Briennes in East and West, 1213–1221', *Crusades*, 10 (2011), pp. 63–77.

12Original documents (if surviving) of the French donors from the period of the Fifth Crusade are in the collection of the Archives Départementales de l'Aube (Troyes) (henceforth ADA and archive signature).

13This donation will be analysed in the second part of the chapter.

14ADA, 3 H 3529: August 1219, *in exercitu Damiete*. Geoffrey de Buxeuil gave to the Teutonic Order 40 *solidos* from his income from Bar/Seine. The donation was confirmed by Milo de Bar/Seine, Geoffrey's feudal overlord. The original document does not survive and is known from a summary only.

15Ibid.: July 1219, *in exercitu Damiete.* Erard de Chacenay gave to the Teutonic Order 20 *livres* annually from his two baronies Saint Saveur du Puisaye and Guerchy (northern Burgundy). The donation was confirmed by his feudal overlord, Hervé de Donzy, Count of Nevers (July 1219).

16On the genealogy of the counts and lords in the southern Champagne, see T. Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300* (Philadelphia, 2007); T. Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152–1284* (Baltimore, 1975); A. de Dion, 'Le Puiset aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Mémoire de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, 9 (1889), pp. 1–34; C. Lalore, *Les sires et les barons de Chacenay* (Troyes, 1885). See also Tables 14.1 and 14.2.

17*Lettres*, p. 150.

18Hoogeweg, p. 222; *Eracles*, p. 342; *Ernoul*, p. 435; *Lettres*, p. 124.

19ADA, 3 H 3529, August 1219. In case of the death of André de Montbard, the Teutonic Knights could take 20 *livres* of his revenues from Epoisses. In his oral testament, Eudes de Châtillon-en-Bazois gave 20 *livers* annually to the Teutonic

Order from his lands in Tannay and Pignol (northern Burgundy). His last will was confirmed by Raoul de Beaumont (ADA, 3 H 3530, March 1223) and Milo de Nanteuil, Bishop of Beauvais (ADA, 3 H 3539, December 1231).

20Hoogeweg, p. 187; *QB*, pp. 122, 195–96; de Flamare, 'La cinquième croisade', p. 423.

21For more details, see K. Polejowski, 'The Counts of Brienne and Military Orders in the Thirteenth Century', in *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power, ed.* Peter W. Edbury (Farnham, 2012), pp. 285–96.

22K. Polejowski, 'Sur l'origine de la maison de l'ordre teutonique à Orbec: Un document de Renaud, évêque de Nevers (avril 1224)', *Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des Lettres, Sciences et Arts*, 52 (2003), pp. 253–57.

23F. de Mely, 'L'ordre Teutonique en Eure-et-Loir', *Mémoire de la Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 9, (1889), pp. 352–54.

24Evergates, *Feudal Society*, pp. 125, 158.

25*Lettres*, p. 150.

26ADA, 3 H 3529, December 1222.

27ADA, 3 H 3530, May 1234.

28Evergates, *Feudal Society*, p. 159.

29ADA, 3 H 3529.

30Evergates, *Aristocracy*, pp. 169–70, 249–50.

31ADA, 3 H 3530.

32ADA, 3 H 3576, 3 H 3530, 3 H 3577.

33Polejowski, *Geneza*, pp. 188–94.

34*RRH*, nos 1090, 1091; *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. Ernest Strehlke (Berlin, 1869), no. 87, p. 69; H. Prutz, 'Eilf Deutschordens-Urkunden aus Venedig und Malta', *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 22 (1883), pp. 385–400, here p. 388.

15Croats and the Fifth Crusade

Did two members of the Babonić noble family accompany King Andrew II of Hungary on his crusade?

Hrvoje Kekez

Introduction

King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–35) was one of the key figures of the Fifth Crusade. He led a crusading army composed of knights, magnates and prelates of the kingdom of Hungary, which incorporated the two kingdoms at that time inhabited by Croats: Croatia-Dalmatia and Slavonia.[1] The tradition in which the chivalry and sanctity of King Andrew II of Hungary took a great part in the Fifth Crusade originates in Hungary shortly after the crusade itself. Nevertheless, it was not until the invention of printing press and the publication of the *Chronica Hungariae*, written by Johannes de Thurocz in 1488, that Andrew II became popular among the nobility in Hungary and Croatia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; this was because there were constant wars against the rising Ottoman Empire at this time.[2] The Croatian nobility abandoned the tradition of finding their family roots in Roman patrician families, as was popular in the fifteenth century, and started connecting their ancestors with Andrew II and the Fifth Crusade.[3]

After his return from the Fifth Crusade, Andrew II granted some estates to several Hungarian noblemen in order to acknowledge them for participating on his crusade. Among these noblemen were two members of the Babonić noble family from the southern areas of medieval Slavonia, which is now the north-western part of Croatia.

According to a charter issued in 1218, it was Lord Stephen III and his brother Baboneg III who had participated in the Fifth Crusade. In acknowledgement for their participation, Andrew II confirmed their right over their land in Vodica. That particular estate was granted to the Babonić family by the earlier Hungarian kings, Bela III (1172–96) and Emeric (1196–1204). Andrew II especially emphasized the

number of cavalrymen (250) that Babonići led in the crusade.[4]

This charter had been taken as unquestionable evidence that members of the Babonić family went on the Fifth Crusade by all Croatian historians from the late nineteenth century up to the middle of the twentieth century. For example, it was Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, the author of the first modern synthesis of Croatian history, who in 1870 wrote that the Babonići brothers accompanied Andrew II of Hungary on crusade.[5] Little more than ten years later, Tade Smičiklas wrote in the same manner in his synthesis of Croatian history.[6] The most significant effect on Croatian historiography was made by Vjekoslav Klaić, who accepted the charter as unquestionable evidence for the Babonići going on the Fifth Crusade and whose synthesis of Croatian history in five books was generally accepted not only by historians but also by the public.[7] The same interpretations can be found in the next synthesis of Croatian history published by eminent Croatian scholar Ferdo Šišić.[8] None of these historians questioned this interpretation of events generally because Lajos Thallóczy, the most eminent expert on the history of the Babonić family and the author of a book on that topic, also accepted the charter as evidence of their participation in the Fifth Crusade.[9]

It was Nada Klaić who in 1976 first questioned the accepted interpretation that the Babonići brothers participated in the Fifth Crusade.[10] She argued that the charter from 1218 was very likely a forgery, due to the fact that it is preserved as a *transumptum* in a later charter dated on 26 February 1352.[11] Given the structure and the choice of words in the Latin text, as well as the unrealistic number of the Babonići military contingent in the king's army (250 horsemen), Nada Klaić concluded that the charter from 1218 was a forgery, the goal of which was to improve the political position of Lord Nicolas IV Babonić at the king's court, as much as to gain new confirmation of the property in Vodica, which, in her opinion, was of doubtful Babonići ownership in the middle of the fourteenth century. Therefore, she dismissed all information that can be found in the charter of 1218 as historical fiction and she excluded any possibility that the two members of the noble Babonić family went on the Fifth Crusade in 1217.[12]

Because Nada Klaić was one of the leading medievalists in Croatia until her death in 1988, and due to the influence of her book on the history of the Croats in the High Middle Ages, nobody suggested the possibility that the two members of the noble Babonić family actually went on the Fifth Crusade.[13]

It can be accepted that the Latin text of the charter of 1218 is a palaeographic forgery composed in 1352 and incorporated in a charter issued in the middle of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, there is a question as to whether it was possible that among the living members of the Babonić family in the middle of the fourteenth century, there was still preserved the story of how two of their ancestors accompanied Andrew II of Hungary on his crusade in 1217, as well as whether there is any historical evidence of the presence of a crusader tradition among this family in the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century that supports a possibility that Lords Stephen III and Baboneg III really went on the Fifth Crusade.

The medieval society of the kingdom of Hungary in the thirteenth century still was a mostly oral society and it was not before the fourteenth century that literacy flourished and the spoken word lost its primacy over the written word. The number of preserved medieval charters from the fourteenth century is more than ten times larger than the number from the thirteenth century.[14] Therefore, the oral tradition of a family history was very much present among the nobility of the kingdom of Hungary in the Middle Ages, which Nada Klaić neglected in her book.[15] Erik Fügedi successfully argued that family traditions among the nobility were passed orally, especially in the case of family history and genealogy.[16] These kinds of oral traditions can be attested among the Babonić family.[17]

In order to give the answer to the question stated in the title of this chapter, one should first find out the nature of the relations between the Babonići and the members of royal dynasty at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Second, it is important to analyse the route that the crusaders took from Buda in central Hungary to Split on the Adriatic coast, as there is a possibility that the Babonići joined the army on the way. Third, one should look for traces of the crusader tradition among the Babonić family in the thirteenth century and in the first half of the fourteenth century. Fourth, one should investigate the nature of the confirmation of the estate in Vodica to the Babonić family by Louis I of Hungary (1342–82) in 1352. Finally, one should try to explain the unrealistic number of 250 horsemen that the Babonići allegedly led on the Fifth Crusade.

The Babonići brothers as crusaders: historical context

Before becoming the new king of Hungary in 1205, Andrew II was a duke of Croatia and had a rather large estate in the Gora County, the very county from which the Babonić family originates.[18] So it is very likely that Lord Stephen I of the Babonić family, the father of the Lords Stephen III and Baboneg III (Table 15.1), the count in Gora County in that time, had excellent relations with Croatian Duke Andrew, later Hungarian King Andrew II.[19] These relations were established when Stephen I tried to stop the raids made by Lord Albert Višnjegorski from Carniola in the border areas of Hungary.[20]

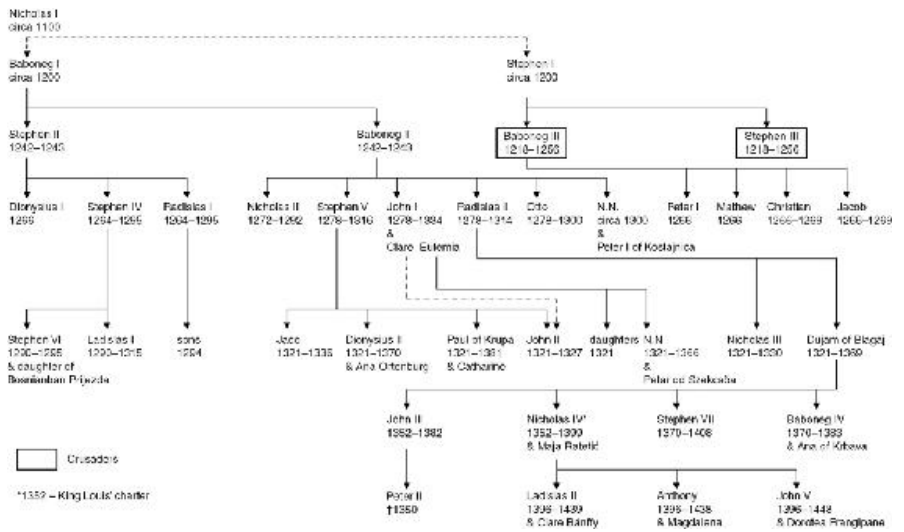

Table 15.1 Genealogy of the Babonići family to the end of the fourteenth century

Crusaders assembled in Veszprém in central Hungary, from where Andrew II started his campaign in July 1217 (Map 15.1). The city of Split was chosen to be the departing harbour. The army was divided into three groups. The logistics departed first, and after them the German knights from Transylvania (*Sasi*) set off. The king was at the head of the rest of the army, mostly composed of Hungarian knights. They took a path from the Benedictine monastery in Tihany towards Pecs in southern Hungary.[21] They crossed the River Drava somewhere near Virovitica and continued through Križevci and Dugo Selo to Zagreb, where Andrew II was present at the consecration of the new cathedral.[22] The crusaders then travelled throughmedieval Slavonia using the most common route from Križevci to Zagreb and Topusko (*via exercitualis*, *via Colomani regis*). After Topusko, the crusaders continued towards Bihać, the most important city on the River Una, from where they continued through the valley of Una towards Nebljusi and Srb up to Knin. Because he was very familiar with the

areas around Knin from the time when he was still a duke of Croatia,[23] Andrew II decided to camp his army in the suburbs of Knin, waiting for the rest of the army to arrive. When the whole army was gathered in Knin, Andrew led his crusaders towards Split on the Adriatic coast. According to the archdeacon Thomas' writings, the army appeared in front of the walls of Split on 23 August 1217.[24]

Map 15.1 Route of the crusaders from central Hungary through Slavonia to the Dalmatian coast, July–August 1217

If one looks again at the route from Zagreb to Bihać, it can be easily noticed that the army passed very near to the estates of the Babonić family. After leaving Zagreb, Andrew II was hosted by the Cistercians in their abbey in Topusko.[25] This abbey was founded as a royal monastery (*monasterium regale*) and it was situated no more than 25 miles from the Babonić estate in Vodica (Map 15.1).[26] Although this section of their route is not clear, it is very likely that after staying

in the Cistercian abbey in Topusko, the crusaders continued towards the valley of the River Una.

The information given by Viktor Živić in his travel book through the Una valley is very interesting. Živić wrote that in the mid-1930s, he met, in modern-day Bosanska Otoka, a German missionary called Gerard Purk, who showed him a crusader's sword which he had found at the bottom of the River Una.[27] It is interesting to note that the crusaders probably entered the valley of Una in the vicinity of Bosanska Otoka. Furthermore, it is important to note that the Cistercians of Topusko came into possession of Bosanska Otoka, known at the time as Timpor's island (*insula Timpor*), in 1222. It was given to them by the sons of the nobleman Armo, who gained that estate by an earlier donation of Andrew II of Hungary.[28] Therefore, it is possible that Andrew II used the Cistercians' or count Armo's knowledge of the local terrain to get to the valley of Una as soon as possible.

The distance between Bosanska Otoka and Vodica, the most important estate of the Babonić family, is less than 20 miles. Therefore, it is possible that Andrew II sent word to Lords Stephen III and Baboneg III of the Babonić family to join him on crusade. Alternatively, it is possible that the rumour of the approaching crusaders came to the Babonići and that they independently decided to join the army. As all the magnates of the medieval kingdom of Hungary had feudal obligations to accompany the Hungarian kings on their military campaigns, and if one bears in mind the fact that the Babonići had excellent relations with Andrew II even before he became King of Hungary, one can argue that it would have been inopportune for the Babonići to neglect Andrew's order to join him on crusade.

Furthermore, one should be aware of the strong devotion to the Holy Cross among the Babonići in that period. Hence, it was Lord Stephen IV who provided political protection to the Cistercians of Topusko in the last three decades of the thirteenth century.[29] He acted as the abbey's patron and most likely financially helped the construction of the great Gothic church of the Cistercian abbey in Topusko.[30] According to the charter issued in 1302, before his death, Lord Stephen IV built an altar dedicated to the Holy Cross in the abbey church.[31] The chapel of St Nicholas, in which the altar of the Holy Cross was built, became very sacred to the Babonići and it was customary among them to assemble there whenever they had any problems to solve.[32]

Due to the fact that similar devotion to the Holy Cross cannot be attested among the other noble families of medieval Slavonia of that time, one can argue that this devotion was introduced into the Babonić family after the return of Lords Stephen III and Baboneg III from the Fifth Crusade.

King Louis's charter in 1352

Nada Klaić in her writings emphasized the uncertainty of the Babonići's possession of Vodica in the middle of the fourteenth century, because at that moment the whole Babonić family did not have good relations with Louis of Hungary. Therefore, according to her opinion, the Babonići had to invent the story of how their ancestors had accompanied Andrew II on his Crusade in order to prove to the new Hungarian king, Louis the Great, that they were very faithful servants of the Hungarian kings for many decades.[33] Was this really the case?

First of all, it has to be said that in the charter of 1218, or rather in its *transumptum* composed in 1352, the story of how the two members of the Babonić family went on the Fifth Crusade is not the main focus; in other words, their participation is not the only or main reason for the king's confirmation of the land in Vodica. Andrew II had clearly stated in his charter that he granted them the land in Vodica mostly because the Babonići had served him and his predecessors on the Hungarian throne on many other occasions.[34]

Therefore, if the participation of the Babonići on the Fifth Crusade was not the focus of the charter from 1218, it is very likely that it was also not the focus of the charter of 1352. And, indeed, there are two other reasons why Louis I of Hungary decided to grant to the Babonić family the estate in Vodica. In his charter, Louis stated that he made this confirmation to the Babonići because some of them had followed him on the military campaign in 1345/46 that he had led against the Venetians who had besieged the royal city of Zadar, as well as on his military campaign in 1350 against the kingdom of Apulia.[35]

Second, although some members of the Babonić family were some of the main opponents of the rule of the new Hungarian king Charles Robert of Anjou (1310–42), the father of Louis I, this cannot be said for the whole Babonić kindred. It was the sons of the late Count Stephen V, the former *ban* (governor) of Slavonia, who opposed Charles Robert's rule and even waged war against the new *ban*, Count Mikac Prodavić. But their uprising was crushed after the battle near

Stjeničnjak Castle in 1327. Nevertheless, their uncle, Lord John I of Babonić, as well as their relative, Lord Dujam of Blagaj, did not participate in that uprising.[36] In addition, soon after these events, the brothers Nicholas III and Dujam of Blagaj (the father of Lord Nicholas IV) accompanied Charles Robert on his military campaign in 1330 against Duke Basarab, the Count of Walachia. The main battle was waged in the Pass of Posada, and in that battle Lord Nicholas III saved the king's life.[37] During the fighting, Lord Nicholas III was heavily wounded in his head and shoulder, and even lost 25 of his knights.[38] As the sign of his gratitude, on 9 December 1330, Charles Robert granted the castle of Ostrožac and the land in Dobrnica to the Babonići brothers.[39]

Good relations with the Hungarian kings were continued by Lord Dujam of Blagaj even after the new king, Louis I, ascended the Hungarian throne in 1342. Therefore, Lord Dujam of Blagaj sent his sons, Lords John III and Nicholas IV, to join Louis's army in 1345/46, the goal of which was breaking of the Venetian siege of the Dalmatian town of Zadar. According to the later charter, they assisted the king not only in the battle but also in the negotiations with the Venetians.[40] Moreover, as already noted, Lords John III and Nicholas IV accompanied Louis I on his campaign in Apulia in 1350.[41] During the siege of the city of Averso, the Babonići lost most of the solders and knights in their retinue, as well as Lord Peter II, the son of Lord John III.[42] Therefore, taking into account the obviously excellent relations between this branch of the Babonić kindred and the king, as well as the fact that Lord Nicholas IV was a member of Louis's personal retinue, one cannot argue that the members of the Babonić family had to invent a story of how their ancestors accompanied Andrew II of Hungary on the Fifth Crusade in order to get Louis's new confirmation of their possessions in Vodica.[43]

Finally, was the possession of the land in Vodica ever so uncertain for the Babonić family in 1352? As already stated above, the estate in Vodica was most likely given to the Babonić family at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and then confirmed once indirectly in 1210 and most likely again in 1218 by the later Hungarian king.[44] Furthermore, in 1256, the new Hungarian king, Bela IV, once again confirmed it to none other than Lords Stephen III and Baboneg III of the Babonić family.[45] After the successful struggle for keeping that estate between 1266 and 1269, the land in Vodica continued to be owned by the Babonić family up to the middle of the fourteenth century.[46] The Chapter of Zagreb twice confirmed this land to the

Babonić family in 1343 and 1346.[47] Furthermore, Louis in 1364 once again confirmed the very charter from 1352.[48] This time, a new *transumptum* was not made. Instead, it was Louis's chancellor, Archbishop Nicholas, who wrote down the confirmation on the bottom of the charter from 1352.[49] Finally, in 1369, Louis I issued a new charter in which he once again confirmed the estate in Vodica to the Babonić family.[50]

Obviously Lord Dujam and his sons had good relations with Louis I of Hungary in the middle of the fourteenth century, and their possession of the estate in Vodica was not so uncertain. Therefore, there was no need to invent the story of how two of their ancestors accompanied Andrew II of Hungary on the Fifth Crusade in order to gain new confirmation for the Vodica estate. Hence, it is very likely that Louis confirmed their rights once again in 1352 in a manner typical of that time – a king awards his faithful servants by confirming to them their own lands, given to them by his predecessors. It was just a great opportunity to write down a previously orally transmitted family tradition of how their ancestors went on the Fifth Crusade and how Andrew II decided to confirm their right on the lands in Vodica in 1218 in acknowledgement for their contribution.

The unrealistic number of horsemen

The number of 250 cavalrymen which the Babonići allegedly contributed to King Andrew's army was one of the reasons why Nada Klaić dismissed the possibility that the Babonići actually went on the Fifth Crusade.[51] Although Thomas, the Archdeacon of Split, wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century that he saw more than 10,000 horsemen which were accompanied with innumerable infantry, this is obvious exaggeration.[52] Kužić calculated that the crusaders' army numbered between 4,250 and 6,500 men, and of that there were no more than 1,000 horsemen.[53] Therefore, the number of 250 horsemen that were allegedly led by the Babonići seems an obvious exaggeration. It would be very unlikely that the Babonići contributed around one-quarter of all the cavalry in Andrew's army.

How then did this number occur in the Latin text composed in 1352? In order to answer this, one should have in mind the structure of the king's army and the military traditions in the kingdom of Hungary in the Middle Ages. One of the most important obligations (*fidelitas*) that each nobleman of the kingdom had towards his king was actually military service. While the lesser nobility fulfilled this

obligation by serving in the king's army as members of the army raised in each of the royal counties, the richer noble families had the right to raise an army of their own. Each military unit was called a *banderium*, and the whole system was called the banderial system.[54] The *banderium* was not the total number of soldiers that each royal county or noble family had at their disposal, but only the army that was raised for a specific battle or military campaign, and it was usually dismissed afterwards. In the thirteenth century, only the noble families which could have raised and equipped no less than 50 heavy cavalrymen had the right to their own 'private army' – *banderium*.[55] As time passed, these numbers went up to 400 horsemen, the number which was required by the royal decree in 1492.[56]

Unfortunately there are no exact figures for how many horsemen the Babonići had in their *banderium* in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It was Julian, the canon of Cividale, who wrote that Lord John I Babonić led an army of 600 men in Furlany in 1310 to the aid of his brothers-in-law, Dukes Henry II and Albert of Görz and Tyrol.[57] Because Julian did not state differently and because each knight was usually accompanied by three infantrymen,[58] one could argue that no more than one-quarter of this army were actually horsemen. Therefore, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Babonići had a *banderium* composed of around 150 horsemen and 450 infantrymen.

Finally, if one has in mind the number of 50 horsemen needed in the thirteenth century to raise a *banderium* and up to 400 needed at the end of fifteenth century, it is very likely that in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Babonići had a *banderium* composed of around 250 horsemen. So, to the fourteenth-century composer of the charter allegedly from 1218 (Lord Nicholas IV or somebody from his retinue), it seemed rather logical that Lords Stephen III and Baboneg III accompanied Andrew II with their whole *banderium*, which in the middle of the fourteenth century was as big as 250 horsemen. In reality, their *banderium* at the beginning of the thirteenth century was very likely not larger than 50 cavalrymen. Nevertheless, it is also very likely that Lords Stephen III and Baboneg III did not lead their whole *banderium* into the Fifth Crusade. They were most likely accompanied by just a couple of their personal servants or shield bearers.

Conclusion

Although the record of the participation of the two members of

Babonić family in the Fifth Crusade was preserved as a fake *transumptum* in a later charter issued in 1352, the excellent relations between the Babonići and Andrew II before and after these events, as well as the route that the crusaders took from central Hungary to the Adriatic coast, which led them very near to the estates of the Babonić family in southern Slavonia, make their participation a possibility. Moreover, devotion to the Holy Cross, which was present among the Babonić family from the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, can be easily connected to a crusader tradition present in the family. Finally, there were no special reasons for the Babonić family in the mid-fourteenth century to invent the story. It is very likely that Louis I's act in 1352 was no more than the typical legal act of a king confirming the earlier possessions of certain estates to his faithful servants.

If the arguments presented in this chapter are acceptable, then the story of how the two members of the Babonić family accompanied Andrew II of Hungary on his crusade, which is not preserved in written documents before 1352, is another example of how, even in obvious diplomatic forgeries, there can be found traces of actual earlier historical events.

Notes

1On King Andrew's participation in Fifth Crusade, see, for example, *A History of the Crusades: The Later Crusades (1189–1311)*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 377–428.

2Joannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungariae* (Brunnae, 1488) – pages are not numbered. For more details, see Krešimir Kužić, *Hrvati i križari* (Zagreb, 2003), pp. 75–78.

3The counts of Krk became the alleged descendants of Frangipani: Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Franakapni* (Zagreb, 1901), pp. 217–18. The counts of Krbava connected themselves with the Torquati family: Ivan Botica, 'Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku' (PhD thesis, Zagreb, 2011), p. 13. The descendants of the Babonići, the counts of Blagaj, were alleged descendants of the Ursini family: Hrvoje Kekez, 'Plemićki rod Babonića do kraja 14. Stoljeća' (PhD thesis, Zagreb, 2012), p. 33. For the Fifth Crusade connections, see the examples of the Drašković and Ladany families: Kužić, *Hrvati i križari*, pp. 76–78.

4*CDRCDS*, vol. 3, doc. 142, pp. 167–70.

5Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Poviest Hrvatah* (Zagreb, 1870), pp. 104–05.

6Tadej Smičiklas, *Poviest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do godine 1526* (Zagreb, 1882), pp. 335–36.

7Vjekoslav Klaić, *Poviest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća* (2 vols, Zagreb, 1899–1904), vol. 1, p. 201.

8Ferdo Šišić, *Pregled povijesti hrvatskoga naroda* (Zagreb, 1962), pp. 182–83.

9Lajos Thallóczy, *Die Geschichte der Grafen von Blagay* (Vienna, 1898), p. 60.

10Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb, 1976), pp. 343–44.

11*CDRCDS*, vol. 12, doc. 54, pp. 77–80. It is worth mentioning that the charter from 1352 is also not preserved as an original charter, but as a *transumptum* from a later charter issued in 1406. Lajos Thallóczy and Samu Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay. A Blagay-család oklevéltára* (Budapest 1897), doc. 121, pp. 218–223; Milan Šufflay, 'Dva falsifikata za Blagaje. V. Iz arkiva ugarskog narodnog muzeja', *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonskog-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, 8 (1906), pp. 213–34.

12Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, p. 344.

13In his book, Kužić accepted the traditional view of these events without any discussion of arguments of Nada Klaić, but he drew attention to the fact that the number of 250 horsemen was rather too big. Kužić, *Hrvati i križari*, pp. 52–53.

14Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London, 2001), pp. xvi–xvii.

15Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, one might assume that oral tradition could pass over gaps of up to 70 years. György Györffy, 'Zu den Anfängen der Ungarischen Kirchenorganisation', *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae*, 7 (1969), pp. 109–12.

16Erik Fügedi, '*Verba volant*: Oral Culture and Literacy among the Medieval Hungarian Nobility', in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, *ed.* J. M. Bak *(*London, *1986)*, Chapter 6, *pp.* 1–25.

17There was a tradition concerning the origin of the counts of Blagaj, descendants of the Babonić family, from the early fifteenth century which survived to be recorded in 1571. Kekez, 'Plemićki rod Babonića', pp. 28–37.

18Vjekoslav Klaić, 'O hercegu Andriji (1197–1204)', *Rad JAZU*, 136 (1898), pp. 200–22; Mladen Ančić, 'Vlastelinstvo hrvatskoga hercega u Gorskoj županiji', *Povijesni prilozi*, 15 (1996), pp. 201–40. Kekez, 'Plemićki rod Babonića', pp. 14–51.

19Martin Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London, 2000), p. 34.

20For more detail, see Miha Kosi, '…*quae terram nostram et Regnum Hungariae dividit* … (Razvoj meje cesarstva na Dolenjskem v srednjem veku)', *Zgodovinski časopis*, 1–2 (2002), pp. 43–93, here p. 65; and Kekez, 'Plemićki rod Babonića', p. 39.

21Ferdo Šišić, 'Itinerari vladaoca hrvatskih i ugarsko-hrvatskih od najstarijih vremena do Bele IV', *Vjestnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, 5 (1903), pp. 42–53, here p. 48.

22Ibid., p. 48; Lelja Dobronić, *Viteški redovi – templari i ivanovci u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 1984), pp. 34, 66; Kužić, *Hrvati i križari*, p. 52.

23Mladen Ančić, 'Knin u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku', *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 38 (1996), pp. 53–93, here pp. 60, 63, 65.

24'Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum', in *Historia Salonitana: povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika*, ed. Nenad Cambi (Split, 2003), p. 138. For more details, see Kužić, *Hrvati i križari*, pp. 51–52.

25Kužić, *Hrvati i križari*, p. 52.

26Hrvoje Kekez, 'Cistercians and Nobility in Medieval Croatia: The Babonići Kindred and Monasteries of Topusko (Toplica) and Kostanjevica (Landstrass) in the 13th and Early 14th Centuries', *Cîteaux: commentarii cistercienses*, 61(2–4) (2010), pp. 257–78, here pp. 264–66.

27Viktor Živić, *Na pragu hrvatskog Orijenta* (Zagreb, 1937), p. 27.

28*CDRCDS*, vol. 3, doc. 194, p. 221.

29Mladen Ančić, 'Cistercitska opatija u Topuskom do pretvaranja u komendu', *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 27 (1994), pp. 32–35; Kekez, 'Cistercians and

Nobility', pp. 268–72.

30 Kekez, 'Cistercians and Nobility', p. 272.

31 *CDRCDS*, vol. 8, doc. 23, p. 26. It is very likely that this particular charter was issued during Lord Stephen's life, that is, before 1302. See Kekez, 'Cistercians and Nobility', p. 272, n. 89.

32 See several examples in Kekez, 'Cistercians and Nobility', pp. 272–75.

33 Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, p. 344.

34 *CDRCDS*, vol. 3, doc. 142, p. 168.

35 *CDRCDS*, vol. 12, doc. 54, p. 78.

36 For more details, see Kekez, 'Plemićki rod Babonića', pp. 125–36.

37 Borislav Grgin, *Rumunjske zemlje u srednjem vijeku i ranom novom vijeku* (Zagreb, 2006), p. 17.

38 *CDRCDS*, vol. 9, doc. 435, p. 534.

39 *CDRCDS*, vol. 9, doc. 437, pp. 534–37.

40 *CDRCDS*, vol. 12, doc. 58, p. 74; Thallóczy, *Die Geschichte der Grafen von Blagay*, p. 89.

41 See Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, pp. 157–61.

42 *CDRCDS*, vol. 12, doc. 58, p. 74.

43 'Nicolaus filius Doim filii Radoslai, comes de Blagai dilectus et fidelis nostre aule miles …': *CDRCDS*, vol. 12, doc. 58, p. 77.

44 *CDRCDS*, vol. 2, doc. 332, pp. 359–61; vol. 3, doc. 80, pp. 98–100; vol. 3, doc. 142, pp. 167–70.

45 *CDRCDS*, vol. 5, doc. 543, pp. 8–9.

46 Kekez, 'Cistercians and Nobility', pp. 266–67.

47 *CDRCDS*, vol. 11, doc. 42, p. 56 and doc. 235, p. 314.

48 *CDRCDS*, vol. 12, doc. 58, p. 80.

49 It ought to be mentioned that the main text of the original charter from 1352, as well as the new king's confirmation from 1364, are preserved as *transumptus* in a later charter from 1406: Thallóczy and Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay*, doc. 121, pp. 218–23.

50 *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, ed. Marko Kostrenčić (Zagreb, 1916), vol. 14, doc. 145, pp. 203–05. This particular charter is also preserved as a *transumptum* in the later charter of 1406: Thallóczy and Barabás, *Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay*, doc. 121, pp. 218–23.

51 Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, p. 344.

52 Cambi, *Historia Salonitana*, p. 138.

53 Kužić, *Hrvati i križari*, pp. 56–58.

54 Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service*, pp. 146–48.

55 Ivan Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije* (Zagreb, 1985), pp. 99–100.

56 *Corpus juris hungarici seu decretum generale incliti regni Hungariae partiumque eidem annexarum*, ed. Stephen Verbőczy (Buda, 1751), art. 20, p. 1250.

57 'Fragmenta Chronici Forojuliensis, auctore Juliano canonico Cividatensi cum additamentis. Ab anno Christi MCCLII. Usque ad annum MCCCLXIV', in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, *ser. 1*, ed. Ludovicus Amnonius Muratorius (25 vols, Milan, 1723–51), vol. 24, p. 1221.

58 Kužić, *Hrvati i kržari*, p. 57, n. 268.

16Norway and the Fifth Crusade

The crusade movement on the outskirts of Europe[1]

Pål Berg Svenungsen

In the second half of the fourteenth century, a monk writing one of the annals of the diocese of Skálholt in Iceland noted in the entry for 1217: 'Thus began the great voyage to Jerusalem.'[2] The Old Norse wording *Jorsala ferð* is the term most commonly associated with the act of pilgrimage or crusade.[3] This reference therefore indicates that the Fifth Crusade made its mark even on the northern periphery of Catholic Europe. It is my hope that this chapter might enhance the understanding of the impact of the crusade movement by looking at the example of Norway.

The reference in the *Skálholt annals* might also serve as a good illustration of the challenge of studying Norwegian crusading activities: the paucity of the sources. Even the usually well-informed Norse sagas rarely give any insight into crusading. In fact, only one known Norwegian medieval text is entirely dedicated to crusading.[4] References to crusading or pilgrimage, in connection with the Fifth Crusade, are only sporadically found in the two Old Norse sagas *Boˌglunga soˌgur* and *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. But, in addition, there are a few papal letters and references to the crusade in the Icelandic Annals. The rather elusive nature of our evidence is by no means a uniquely Norwegian problem, but rather a quite common problem in crusade studies. The challenge is to make a coherent narrative about the Norwegian involvement in the Fifth Crusade without stretching the evidence too far. However, my reading of the source material points in a direction that Norwegian historians have rarely emphasized.

Norwegian historiography and the crusades

Norwegian scholars have never been particularly interested in the crusade movement and its impact on medieval Norway.[5] The main reason for this, I think, is related to the history of the Norwegian

nation state. Norway became independent as late as 1905 and, from 1319 onwards, it had been in union with either Sweden or Denmark, or, in some periods, with both. The focus of Norwegian historians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the construction of a grand narrative of the Norwegian nation state. The focal point became the medieval kingdom prior to 1319, which was seen as a golden age. The crusades, being both a Catholic and a European enterprise, never fitted into this nationalistic framework. Even though historians have since moved away from this understanding, their narratives have in some ways remained sceptical about European influence on medieval Norway. This scepticism is perhaps reflected in the fact that Norwegians have twice in modern times voted against membership of the European Union. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that a quick survey of Norwegian historiography concerning involvement in the Fifth Crusade does not amount to a lot of literature. But the same can also be said of the attention that modern international crusade studies have paid to Norwegian involvement.

However, there some remarks about Norwegian involvement in the crusades that can be found in the earlier international historiography. Already by the 1600s, Louis Maimbourg (1610–86) noted Norwegian involvement in crusading in his major work *Histoire des croisades* (1675). In the English translation of Maimbourg's work, published ten years later, it is mentioned that:

> The King of Norway, who had caused a great many Men of War to be fitted out for the Holy War, would not abandon his Realm by taking the Cross, altho he obliged many of his Subjects to undertake it, that so he might have a share in the Honor of the Enterprise.[6]

It is perhaps symptomatic of the situation that the most comprehensive study to date on the subject of Norwegian involvement in the crusade movement was done by a Frenchman. In 1865 the French count Paul Riant handed in his doctoral thesis at Sorbonne University, which three years later was also published in a Danish translation.[7] Riant drew on a wide section of both Norse and other European sources to draw up a comprehensive and coherent picture of the exploits of Scandinavian crusaders. Even though it still remains a great source compilation, Riant's understanding is outdated and heavily coloured by nineteenth-century ideals.

Norwegian crusading in the twelfth century

This is not the place for a long survey of Norwegian participation in the crusades, but some general outlines might be relevant in pinpointing the Norwegian connection with crusading prior to the Fifth Crusade. Norwegians, after all, had a long tradition of crusading; it is possible that some were even among the very first crusaders in 1096.[8] Pope Urban II's call for a crusade resonated even along northern shores.[9]

The first Norwegian crusader mentioned by name is Skopti Ogmundarson, one of the wealthiest magnates of the kingdom, who set sail towards the Holy Land in 1101 but died on the way.[10] His example was followed by the major crusade of King Sigurðr Magnússon (r. 1103–30) in 1108.[11] He became the first European monarch to visit the newly established Latin kingdom and he also helped King Baldwin I in conquering the port of Sidon.[12] An enigmatic figure, haunted in later life by bouts of insanity, Sigurðr was nonetheless commemorated by his epithet as 'the Jerusalem traveller' (*jórsalafari*). A constant flow of both pilgrims and crusaders followed.

Two more major crusading expeditions departed Norway in the twelfth century, both in relation to major European crusades. The second was the joint crusade between Earl Rognvaldr kali of Orkney (r. 1129–58) and the Norwegian earl Erlingr Ormsonr skakki in 1152.[13] Participation in the crusades launched Erlingr's political career and contributed to the alliance he later forged with the Norwegian Church that placed his son Magnús on the Norwegian throne. For his part, Earl Rognvaldr was killed in 1158 and buried in St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall. Alleged miracles were said to occur at his grave, as well as at the stone on which his blood had been shed as he died. Rognvaldr (known in English as St Ronald) was venerated as a martyr at Kirkwall and was allegedly canonized in 1192 by Pope Celestine III.

The third expedition was a Danish-Norwegian crusade in connection to the Third Crusade led by members of the prominent Danish Hvide family. This crusade expedition is elaborated in the Latin text *Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*.[14] The author, however, focused more on internal Norwegian political circumstances than on the crusade itself. The source is vague when it comes to the actual crusade expedition, and it is not even clear if the Norwegian protagonist in the story, a Birchleg chieftain named Ulfr af Laufnesi, ever reached the Holy Land. The author simply stated that

‘thus [Ulfr] reached the coast he had set sail for’, making it somewhat ambiguous for the reader if by ‘desirable coast’ he actually meant the Holy Land or rather just some place along the Norwegian shore.[15] Nonetheless, as this short survey shows, Norwegians were not unfamiliar with crusading.

Events in Norway prior to the Fourth Lateran Council

When Lotharius de Segni was elevated to the papal office in 1198 as Pope Innocent III, he was not unfamiliar with the political situation in Norway. The king at the time was indeed that infamous usurper of the throne and leader of the Birchleg party (*birkibeinar*), King Sverrir Sigurðarson (r. 1177–1202).[16] Sverrir had seized the throne by defeating and overthrowing the anointed and crowned king, the above-mentioned Magnús, son of Earl Erlingr, at the Battle of Fimreite in 1184. King Magnús Erlingrson (r. 1161–84) was the first Scandinavian monarch to have been crowned and anointed. By birth he was not a traditional pretender to the throne; he was not the direct son of a former king, but instead claimed kingship through his mother, a daughter of King Sigurðr jórsalafari. However, his father made an alliance with the influential Archbishop Eysteinn (1157–88) and, through this strong ecclesiastical support, was able to gain the throne for his son. The coronation of 1163/64 strongly expressed the king’s subordination and obedience to the Church, as demonstrated both through his coronation oath and his granting of privileges to the Church. The newly established dynasty was then secured by a law of succession, which stated that there should be only one king at any time and that only legitimate sons of the previous king were recognized, with preference being given to the eldest. Rival pretenders were thus stamped as both rebels and heretics, and were to be punished by outlawry and excommunication.[17] The Church therefore condemned Sverrir not only for violating the office of kingship, but also because in slaying an anointed king, he had defied God’s will.

But even excommunication did little to threaten Sverrir’s position. He maintained ruthless control over the Norwegian bishops and his bitter enemy, Archbishop Eiríkr Ívarsson skrauthanzka, was outmanoeuvred, politically isolated and forced into exile in Denmark in 1190.[18] This, however, was a turning point. Ironically, as a result of his exile, the archbishop found it much easier to communicate with

the papal curia in Rome. Even so, it would take another three years before Pope Celestine III gave the archbishop the means to excommunicate King Sverrir from his exile in Denmark in 1194.[19] By 1196, all the Norwegian bishops had fled the country under threat of excommunication. But military action was also taken. In 1196 many powerful magnates of the former regime rose in rebellion against King Sverrir and the Birchlegs. Because of their close relationship with the Church, these rebels were known as Croziers (*baglar*).[20] Pope Innocent supported the rebellion by sending letters to both the Swedish and Danish kings. In language resonant of crusading ideology, he urged the secular arm to rise up against Sverrir.[21] The problem, however, resolved itself when Sverrir died in 1202. His son Hákon was reconciled with both the Church and the Croziers, but his untimely death two years later made political differences reappear.

In the renewed period of conflict, the Norwegian Church worked as mediator, seeking to reconcile the two factions. In 1208 Archbishop Þórir Guðmundarson flata of Niðaros (1206–14) and Bishop Nikolás of Oslo initiated a meeting that resulted in the *Hvítingseyjar* agreement. This confirmed a division between areas controlled by each faction.[22] Archbishop Þórir, who, like his predecessor, Archbishop Eiríkr, had studied abroad at the abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris,[23] may have been acting in accordance with the papal peace initiative prior to the Fifth Crusade. This might explain the leading role played by the Church in the peace negotiations. Interestingly, as a token of the renewed peace, two earlier enemies from each faction agreed on a joint pilgrimage, which was carried out two years later.[24] This indicates that a Christian devotional act, such as pilgrimage or crusading, might serve as a means of reconciling political enemies in a common enterprise – the fight against Christ's enemies.

The Fourth Lateran Council and royal involvement

In April 1213 Pope Innocent III summoned the ecclesiastical leaders of Christendom to a general council in two years' time to reform the Church and to plan a new crusade. We know that Innocent instructed the archbishop of Niðaros to promote and preach the crusade in his province and also collect funds and gifts for the campaign.[25] It might perhaps also have been as early as this that the Birchleg king, Ingi Bárðarson, took the cross. A later papal letter from Honorius III refers to an earlier missive sent by King Ingi to Innocent III in which the king informed the pontiff that he had taken the cross.[26] However,

nothing is certain and not much appears to have been done at this stage. This might be explained by the death of Archbishop Þórir the following summer.[27] His successor, Archbishop Guðþormr (1215–24), travelled to Rome to be consecrated and probably stayed at the papal court whilst waiting to attend the Lateran Council.[28] In Rome, the Norwegian archbishop was joined by one of his prelates, a bishop of the Isles.[29] At the Lateran Council, Innocent attempted to ensure that his crusade was adequately funded through clerical taxation, but he went further, introducing a radical new concept: people not fit to fight might instead redeem their vows through cash payments.[30]

When Innocent died in July 1216, his successor Honorius sent out letters reassuring the people of the Holy Land that the crusade would go ahead as planned.[31] A papal letter dated 6 March 1217, which was sent by Pope Honorius to King Ingi, stated that the pope ratified the peace agreement reached between the Birchleg faction led by King Ingi and the Croziers under King Philippus Simonarsonr, and for which the pope praised the late Archbishop Þórir of Niðaros for his part in the peace agreement.[32] But in the same letter, Honorius also expressed gratitude to King Ingi for what he had promised his predecessor Innocent. The king had taken the cross and, even though he would not participate in person, he had pledged to outfit both men and ships for the coming crusade.[33] The pope ended the letter with a promise of papal protection for both the king and his realm as well as for all of the crusaders' properties for as long as the crusade lasted.[34]

As mentioned in the letter, King Ingi was not to participate in the crusade. This was most probably because of poor health; the king had become ill during the winter of 1216 and his health deteriorated during the following spring.[35] It therefore seems plausible that the king's younger brother, Skúli, was chosen to lead the crusade on the king's behalf.[36] Several important noblemen at the Birchleg court also took the cross. But, ironically, considering their connection with the Church, no one from the Crozier faction is mentioned as doing the same. Some Norwegian historians have tried to explain the gap in the *Bo�varglunga so�varkur* for the period between 1214 and 1217 as the result of the extensive crusade preparations, with the involvement in this having a stabilising effect on Norwegian politics.[37] However, the letter from Pope Honorius was never to reach the Birchleg king alive. On 23 April 1217 King Ingi died. In the king's eulogy in the saga, the author of the *Boꝳglunga soꝳgur*, perhaps as a recognition of King Ingi's piety and crusade enthusiasm, compared the late king to the most famous Norwegian crusader of them all, namely King Sigurðr jórsalafari.[38]

However, the king's untimely death was to have devastating consequences for the Norwegian crusade effort.

Disintegration

The king's death should not automatically have led to the disintegration of the Norwegian crusade. After all, it had been clear all along that he would not participate. The problem, however, was that the man chosen to take command now became one of the candidates for the throne. Indeed, Skúli was one of the favourites. On his deathbed, King Ingi had promoted Skúli to the rank of earl and had also made him the military leader of the Birchleg army.[39] The resultant lack of leadership for the crusade army was to prove fatal. Instead of one coherent crusade expedition, several smaller contingents left the country at different times during the year.

The *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* names four chieftains, of which two were members of the royal family, as the leaders of the three crusade contingents that departed. However, the sources only elaborate on one of the contingents. The first contingent to set out was led by Sigurðr konungsfrændi, a nephew of the late King Sverrir.[40] Despite his royal descent, the sources do not provide much information about his campaign. We know he travelled towards the Holy Land (*Jorsal*) in the summer of 1217 and that he probably died while on crusade that same year.[41] However, it is not mentioned if he ever reached his destination or how he travelled there. In the nineteenth century, the Norwegian historian Peter Andreas Munch suggested that Sigurðr did not sail in the usual fashion, but that he instead took the pilgrim road through Denmark and Germany and joined up with the crusading army led by King Andrew II of Hungary at Spalato.[42] Paul Riant reached the same conclusion and emphasized the plausibility due to the fact that Sigurðr's domains in Norway were situated 'closer to Germany, than any other Norwegians'.[43] From a geographical viewpoint, this is not particularly convincing.

The only non-Scandinavian source that mentions Norwegian crusaders in connection with the crusader army of King Andrew II of Hungary is Ottokar aus der Gaal (d. between 1308 and 1322). In his *Österreichische Reimchronik* from c. 1300,[44] Ottokar mentions 'a king of Denmark, Frisland and Norway' as participating in the Fifth Crusade.[45] However, this unidentified king is not mentioned as being part of Andrew's army explicitly. Besides the problematic question about the reliability of this source,[46] the only thing we can know for certain is

that there seems to have been a local tradition in the area around Steiermark (south-east Austria) that Norwegians were connected with the Fifth Crusade. I would therefore assert that the claim of both Munch and Riant for Norwegian participation in King Andrew's crusade army cannot be confirmed by this source.

Another Norwegian contingent, led by the wealthy magnate (*lendmann*) Gautr Jónsson of Mel, sailed out, but according to the saga was forced to turn back.[47] This seems to indicate that Gautr's contingent sailed out in the late autumn, but was forced to return because of the dangerous winter storms. Upon his return, King Hákon gave him half of the so-called *Elfarsyslu* (parts of the modern Swedish province called Bohuslän). Apparently Gautr did not suffer the fate of many failed crusaders, which could be disgrace or a decline in honour. Later, especially during the 1220s and 1230s, Gautr became one of King Hákon's most trusted councillors and part of the king's inner circle of trusted men. He was to maintain this position during the reign of King Hákon's son, Magnús Hákonarson lagabætir, up to his own death in 1270.

The one crusade contingent for which we have a little more information was a fleet led by two prominent chieftains. One was of royal descent, namely Hróarr konungsfrændi, while the other, Erlendr Þorbergsson, was a nephew of the formerly influential Archbishop Eysteinn of Niðaros (d. 1188).[48] The fleet is mentioned as consisting of at least two ships. *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* provides an interesting detail: the ship that Erlendr steered was equipped and built by the townsmen (*bæjarmenn*) of Niðaros.[49] This is not only the earliest reference to the emerging medieval bourgeoisie in Norway, but may also be taken as an account of the popularity that crusading enjoyed at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Given that a normal ship of the Norwegian *leiðangr* fleet carried 80–100 men, the statement that at least two ships set sail would indicate that approximately 200 Norwegian crusaders departed at this time.[50] The saga further mentions that the two men set out in the summer and that they reached different locations: Hróarr arrived at Acre (*Akurs-borgar*), while Erlendr went directly to Damietta (*Damiattar*). Nothing more, except that both men had 'good journeys', is mentioned.

The fact that they arrived at different locations does require some degree of interpretation. We know that Norwegian crusaders heading eastwards usually sailed around the Iberian Peninsula and into the Mediterranean, and that the first stop on the way was usually England. This would make it quite plausible that the Norwegian

crusaders teamed up with the fleet of Dutch, Flemish and Frisian crusaders who were in England at the time to pick up English crusaders at Dartmouth.[51] This would also help to explain why the Norwegian crusaders reached different ports since the Frisian fleet was divided at Lisbon. The main part of the fleet, under the command of Count William I of Holland, stayed behind to conquer Alcácer do Sal after intervention from the bishop of Lisbon. The Frisians, however, felt more obliged to follow the pope's directions and travelled on.[52] In this case, Hróarr probably joined the Frisians who landed at Acre, while Erlendr stayed behind and afterwards sailed straight to Damietta, where the crusaders were busy besieging the city. Erlendr is never mentioned again and most likely perished on the crusade, but Hróarr returned and became an important courtier and diplomatic envoy.[53]

Hákonar saga also contains the story of a journey that should perhaps be seen in connection with the crusade, even if it does seem to be more an account of a fantastic journey rather than a real crusade campaign. A man called Augmundur of *Spanheime* accompanied a number of other Norwegian merchants to a north-eastern area referred to as *Biarmalndz* (probably the area around the southern shores of the White Sea and the basin of the Northern Dvina River, today parts of the Arkhangelsk Oblast in Russia). Some of the Norwegian merchants stayed there for the winter, while Augmundur and his men travelled on to *Suðrdalarríki* (Old Norse for the area north-east of modern-day Moscow) to trade. Meanwhile, the Norwegians who had stayed behind were ambushed and killed by the locals. When news of this assault reached Augmundur, he decided to travel on until he reached Novgorod (*Holmgarda*). From here he travelled even further eastwards, until he reached the sea and from there travelled to his final destination: Palestine (*Jorsala*). Afterwards, Augmundur and his men set sail back home to Norway. The saga concludes this short narrative with the statement that it was a journey 'much talked about'.[54]

There are, however, some problems with connecting this particular journey with the Fifth Crusade, as Riant did, for instance, claiming that Augmundur actually participated at the siege of Damietta.[55] An important issue is the date of this particular expedition. *Hákonar saga* mentions Augmundur's journey in connection with a punitive campaign undertaken against the people of *Biarmalndz* in 1222. This campaign was actually a reaction to the assault on the Norwegian merchants. The saga mentions that the assault itself had taken place 'a few winters earlier'.[56] The unspecified term 'some' (*nockurum*) only

means that the assault had occurred sometime prior to 1222, and a dating of the incident to the winter of 1217 or 1218 seems slightly too early. The story is also mentioned later in the saga and does not seem to be connected to any of the other campaigns. These objections might only be circumstantial evidence, but Agumundur's visit to the Holy Land seems more the result of circumstances than part of a planned crusade.

Conclusion

So how does the case of Norway fit with the general view of the Fifth Crusade? The Norwegian military contribution did not play any vital role and the few Norwegians who we know to have actually reached Damietta seem to have been among the many faceless crusaders not remembered by history. Even so, the Norwegian contribution tells us something more. The crucial role of royal initiative in instigating the Norwegian crusade seems to support, among others, James Powell's view that the papacy did not seek to exclude royal involvement in the crusade, but that internal strife in Europe was a major impediment for their involvement.[57] The papacy's European peace policy might also perhaps explain the efforts undertaken by the Norwegian Church to secure internal peace. Besides, pilgrimage and crusading could be promoted for their stabilizing effects by bringing people of different political affiliations together in a common Christian enterprise.

The few names that are provided by the sources are all of men belonging to the same political faction. However, two of them departed from a region that was controlled by their political enemies. Perhaps it is the case, then, that among the more common crusaders there was a mixture of people from different political affiliations? Yet the fact remains that the initiative was ultimately one undertaken by a Birchleg monarch. The crucial role of royal support explains why the Norwegian crusade disintegrated and underlines a common problem of the entire Fifth Crusade: a crisis in leadership.

The subtle references to the Fifth Crusade in the sources make it difficult to give a good estimate for the total number of Norwegian crusaders. Certainly, my low estimate of approximately 200 crusaders does not give a fair picture of the contribution, especially if we consider that the Icelandic sources explicitly refer to the event as 'the *great* voyage to Jerusalem' (emphasis added). The wording, if one places emphasis on 'great', seems to indicate a higher number, especially when compared to previous Norwegian crusade expeditions.

The figures therefore remain inconclusive.

It is important to remember that the effort undertaken was carried out in a country that for nearly a century had been torn apart by destructive internal frictions. This had perhaps also created a surplus of people in need of spiritual salvation. The political situation had still not been settled by 1217, when important members of the Birchleg aristocracy took the cross. The popularity of crusading is underlined by the fact that townsmen equipped the crusaders with a ship and supplies. While perhaps running the risk of stretching the sources too far, I would claim that crusading was more important and reached a wider section of society than Norwegian historians have yet emphasized. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, crusading had still not lost its popular appeal among the Christians living on the northernmost outskirts of Catholic Europe.

Notes

1I would like to thank Dr Thomas Foerster and Rosalind Bonté at the Center for Medieval Studies (CMS), which was a Center of Excellence at the University of Bergen founded by the Research Council of Norway in the period 2003–13, for their constructive comments and proofreading of earlier versions of the text. Any errors, however, are my own.

2*Skálholts-Annaler*, in *Islandske Annaler Indtil 1578*, ed. Gustav Storm (Christiania, 1888), p. 184: 'hofz Jorsala ferð hin mikla'.

3The term *Jorsalaferð* literally means 'voyage to Jerusalem'. The term encompassed both pilgrimage and crusade in the twelfth century, before a more specific Norse term for crusading appeared later in the thirteenth century, namely *krossa sik*, 'signed with the cross'. The ambiguous meaning of *Jorsalaferð* makes it somewhat difficult to distinguish clearly between a pilgrimage and a crusade, especially in the early part of the twelfth century. A strict pluralistic approach, as advocated for instance by Jonathan Riley-Smith, would indubitably exclude almost every Norse crusade expedition in the twelfth century. This is due to the fact that there is hardly any reference to acts of oath-taking, reference to committing vows or papal authorization in the Norse source material. To reject the Norwegian expeditions as proper crusades on grounds of modern definitions would, however, be to ignore what contemporaries perceived and understood as crusade campaigns themselves. A more moderate crusade definition therefore seems to be a requirement if Norwegian involvement is to be labelled as crusading. The most fruitful approach, in my view, seems to be what Norman Housley has coined 'pluralism with a touch of generalism': Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 18–23. This softer approach to the pluralistic definition places greater emphasis on the context and how contemporaries saw the expeditions, thereby making the connection to the crusade movement more obvious.

4The source in question is the Latin text known as the *Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*. It was probably written by a Norwegian cleric in the town of Tønsberg in the early 1190s. For a recent study in English, see Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey to the Promised Land: Crusading Theology in the*

'Historia de profectione Danorumin Hierosolymam', *c. 1200* (Copenhagen, 2001).

5The only major study on Norwegian crusading remains the comprehensive study of Scandinavian involvement in the crusades by the French count Paul Riant from 1865: Paul D. E. Riant, *Expéditions et pélegrinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1865). A Danish translation appeared three years later: Paul D. E. Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palæstina (1000–1350)* (Copenhagen, 1868).

6Louis Maimbourg, *The History of the Crusade, or, the Expeditions of the Christian Princes for the Conquest of the Holy Land*, trans. John Nelson (London, 1685), pp. 290–91.

7Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palæstina*, pp. 439–62.

8Albert of Aachen mentions crusaders from 'the kingdom of the Danes': Albert of Aachen, *History of the Journey to Jerusalem* [*Historia Ierosolimitana*], ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. 8–9. Considering the ambiguous use of references to Scandinavians by medieval writers, it is possible that this reference may include Norwegian crusaders. William of Malmesbury mentions Norwegian crusaders in his version of the First Crusade written in the 1120s: William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England* [*Gesta Regum Anglorum*], trans. J. A. Giles, (London, 1847), p. 364. One should, however, be aware of the stereotypes in which William depicts the 'barbarian others', that is, the non-English crusaders; compare T. Foerster, *Vergleich und Identität: Selbst- und Fremddeutung im Norden des hochmittelalterlichen Europa* (Berlin, 2009), pp. 62–72.

9For instance, the Icelandic annals named *Annales regii*, dating from the early fourteenth century, mention Pope Urban's sermon at Clermont as well as the leaving of the crusader armies the following year and the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. *Islandske Annaler Indtil 1578*, ed. Storm, pp. 110–11.

10*Magnúss saga Berfœtts*, in *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Íslenzk Fornrit, 27 (Reykjavík, 1951), pp. 231–32.

11Skopti's journey is only mentioned in the youngest of the kings' sagas, *Heimskringla*, by Snorri Sturluson. King Sigurðr sailed out with a fleet of 60 ships and an army of approximately 6,000–7,000 warriors in the autumn of 1108. The crusade of Sigurðr is mentioned in Norse sagas *Ágrip* (c. 1190), *Morkinskinna* (c. 1220), *Fagrskinna* (c. 1220) and also the Latin work by a Norwegian cleric named Theodoricus Monachus, *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* (c. 1180). The crusade is also mentioned by several other European authors, among them William of Malmesbury in his *De gestis regum Anglorum*, Albert of Aachen in the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Fulcher of Chartres in the *Historia Hierosolomitan* and William of Tyre in his *Chronicon* (William's version of Sigurðr's crusade, however, is entirely based on that of Fulcher). Interestingly, the Norwegian crusaders are also mentioned by the Arabic historian Ibn al-Qalanisi, whose version was later followed by Ibn al-Athir. One of the few studies discussing the sources for King Sigurðr's crusade remains an article by Halvdan Koht from 1924: Halvdan Koht, 'Kong Sigurd på Jorsal-ferd', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 5 (1924), pp. 153–68. Yet, in recent times, some new studies have been published; see Gary B. Doxey, 'Norwegian Crusaders and the Balearic Islands', *Scandinavian Studies*, 68 (1996), pp. 139–60; Arnved Nekvitne, 'Why Did Medieval Norsemen Go on Crusades?', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kurt Villads Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 37–50. In a short comment on the aftermath of the First Crusade, Jonathan Riley-Smith suggests that Sigurðr might have been recruited in connection to Bohemond of Taranto and Antioch's disastrous crusade of 1106–08; see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 9.

12The first to set out had been the Danish king Erik Ejegod, but he died en route at Cyprus and did not reach the kingdom of Jerusalem. However, his wife Bodil got to Jerusalem and died on the Mount of Olives. For more studies on Danish crusading, see Ane Bysted, Kurt Villads Jensen, Carsten Selch Jensen and John H. Lind, *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades, 1100–1522* (Turnhout, 2012).

13The crusade is mentioned in *Orkneyinga Saga*, ed. Finnbogi Guðmundsson, Íslensk Fornrit 34, (Reykjavik 1965). For an English edition, see *The Orkneyinga saga*, ed. Joseph Anderson (Edinburgh, 1999).

14The crusade is mentioned in *Historien om danenes ferd til Jerusalem* [*Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*], ed. and trans. Astrid Salvesen (Oslo, 1969). As far as I know, there is no English translation of this work. See also Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey to the Promised Land*.

15*Historien om danenes ferd til Jerusalem*, ed. Salvesen, p. 121 (my translation).

16The name was originally derogatory: the men were so poor that they had to use birch around their legs instead of proper shoes.

17Sverre Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom: State Formation in Norway, c. 900–1350* (Copenhagen, 2010), pp. 166–67.

18Claus Krag, *Sverre – Norges største middelalderkonge* (Oslo, 2005), p. 151.

19*DN*, vol. 2, no. 3.

20The name is derived from *bagall*, which is a reference to the bishop's staff (*baculum*).

21*DN*, vol. 6, no. 7.

22*Sagaen om baglere og birkebeiner [Bo̜glunga so̜gur*], in *Norges kongesagaer*, ed. and trans. Finn Hødnebø and Hallvard Magerøy, vol. 3 (Oslo, 1979), pp. 327–33. As far as I know, there is no English translation of this saga.

23'Canonicus congregationis S.Victoris': *DN*, vol. 17.2, p. 204.

24This was the pilgrimage of the Crozier chief Reiðdarr sendimaðr and the Birchleg chief Pétr steypir. Icelandic sources claims that Pétr died en route, while Reiðdarr visited the Holy Land before taking service in the Byzantine army, remaining in Constantinople until his death in 1214: *Sagaen om baglere og birkebeiner*, ed. Hødnebø and Magerøy, pp. 332–33, 338. See also *Annales regii*, in *Islandske Annaler Indtil 1578*, ed. Storm, p. 124.

25*RN*, vol. 1, nos 357–58.

26*DN*, vol. 1, no. 4.

27*Sagaen om baglere og birkebeiner*, ed. Hødnebø and Magerøy, p. 345.

28According to the Icelandic sources *Annales regii* and *Skálholts-Annaler*, the archbishop did not come back to Norway until 1216, which most likely means that he delayed his return until after the Lateran Council had ended: *Islandske Annaler Indtil 1578*, ed. Storm, pp. 124 and 184.

29The other Norwegian bishop mentioned as attending the Fourth Lateran Council was Nicholas, or Koli as he was nicknamed, who was Bishop of the Hebrides: *RN*, vol. 1, no. 384.

30*Anatomy*, pp. 13–120; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, p. 69.

31*DN*, vol. 1, no. 2.

32Ibid., vol. 1, no. 4.

33'Intelleximus sane per litteras tuas, quod, receptis bone memorie I[nnocencii] Pape predecessoris nostri litteris, quibus te ad Terre sancte subsidium hortabatur, etsi non in persona propria in tuis tamen te potenter ad Jesu Christi obsequium preparasti pro maiori parte milites et alios homines terre tue in terre

Jerosolimitane succursum in preparatis a te navibus transmissurus, super quo regiam celsitudinem commendantes, ei gratias agimus, qui, cum tibi materiam salutis ostenderit, tibi dat efficere causam eius': ibid.

34'Statuentes, ut donec de crucesignatorum ipsorum reditu vel obitu certissime cognoscatur, tu cum predictis omnibus securus sub apostolica protectione consistas, districtius insuper inhibentes, nequis te ac regnum tuum contra pacis prefate formam interim molestare presumat': ibid.

35*Sagaen om baglere og birkebeiner*, ed. Hødnebø and Magerøy, pp. 345–46.

36Skúli made several crusade and pilgrimage vows later in life that may have been connected with this particular episode.

37Peter Andreas Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, vol. 3 (Christiana, 1857), pp. 569–70.

38*Sagaen om baglere og birkebeiner*, ed. Hødnebø and Magerøy, p. 346.

39Ibid, pp. 345–46; Sturla Þórðarson, *Håkon Håkonssons saga* [*Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*], trans. Anne Holtsmark (Oslo, 2008), pp. 33–37.

40*Håkon Håkonssons saga*, p. 47.

41The two Icelandic sources *Annales regii* and *Skálholts-Annaler* both record that Sigurðr died the same year: *Islandske Annaler Indtil 1578*, ed. Storm, pp. 125, 184. However, Sigurðr is mentioned by *Hákonar saga* as being present at the ordeal of Inga, the king's mother, in 1218: *Håkon Håkonssons saga*, p. 60. This information cannot be correct. Either the ordeal happened before Sigurðr set out on his journey or Sturla Þórðarson confused him with someone else. The most likely explanation, given that he is not mentioned again other than in connection with this particular episode, seems to be that given in the Icelandic annals, namely that he died while on crusade.

42Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, p. 593.

43Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palæstina*, p. 442.

44The *Österreichische Reihmchronik* is printed in *TM*, pp. 187–90; *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* is also published in *Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters*, MGH Deutsche Chroniken, 5 (Hanover, 1890–93).

45*Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, p. 1269:

> 'mit einem her starc.
> ouch was dâ der von Tenmark,
> von Friesen und von Norwægen'.

46The author of the *Reimchronik* seems to confuse several different crusades and crusaders, particularly between the Third and the Fifth Crusades. For example, he mentions Richard the Lionheart as one of the participants. He does not seem to be particularly well informed about political relations in Scandinavia either.

47*Håkon Håkonssons saga*, p. 67.

48Ibid., p. 50.

49Ibid.

50The *leiðangr*-fleet consisted mainly of ships of the classes known as 20-*sesser* or 25-*sesser*. The former carried an average crew of around 80, while the latter carried about 100; see Geir Atle Ersland, 'Kvantitativ realisme?', in *Forsvarsmuseets småskrift nr. 35: Krigføring i middelalderen – strategi, ideologi og organisasjon ca. 1100–1400. Rapport fra Clio og Mars-seminaret på Forsvarsmuseet 6.–7. november 2002*, ed. Knut Peter Lych Arstad, Forsvarsmuseet Småskrift 35 (Oslo, 2003), pp. 146–62, here p. 147.

51The Frisian campaign is elaborated in the Latin work known as *De itinere Frisonum*,

in *QB*, pp. 59–70.

52Ibid., pp. 62–63.

53He is later mentioned as the Norwegian messenger to, among others, the court of the German Emperor Fredrick II; see *Håkon Håkonssons saga*, pp. 200–01.

54Ibid., pp. 91–92: ‘vard hans ferð allfræg’.

55Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palæstina*, pp. 461–62.

56*Håkon Håkonssons saga*, p. 91: ‘nockurum vetrum adr’.

57*Anatomy*, pp. 107–20.

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